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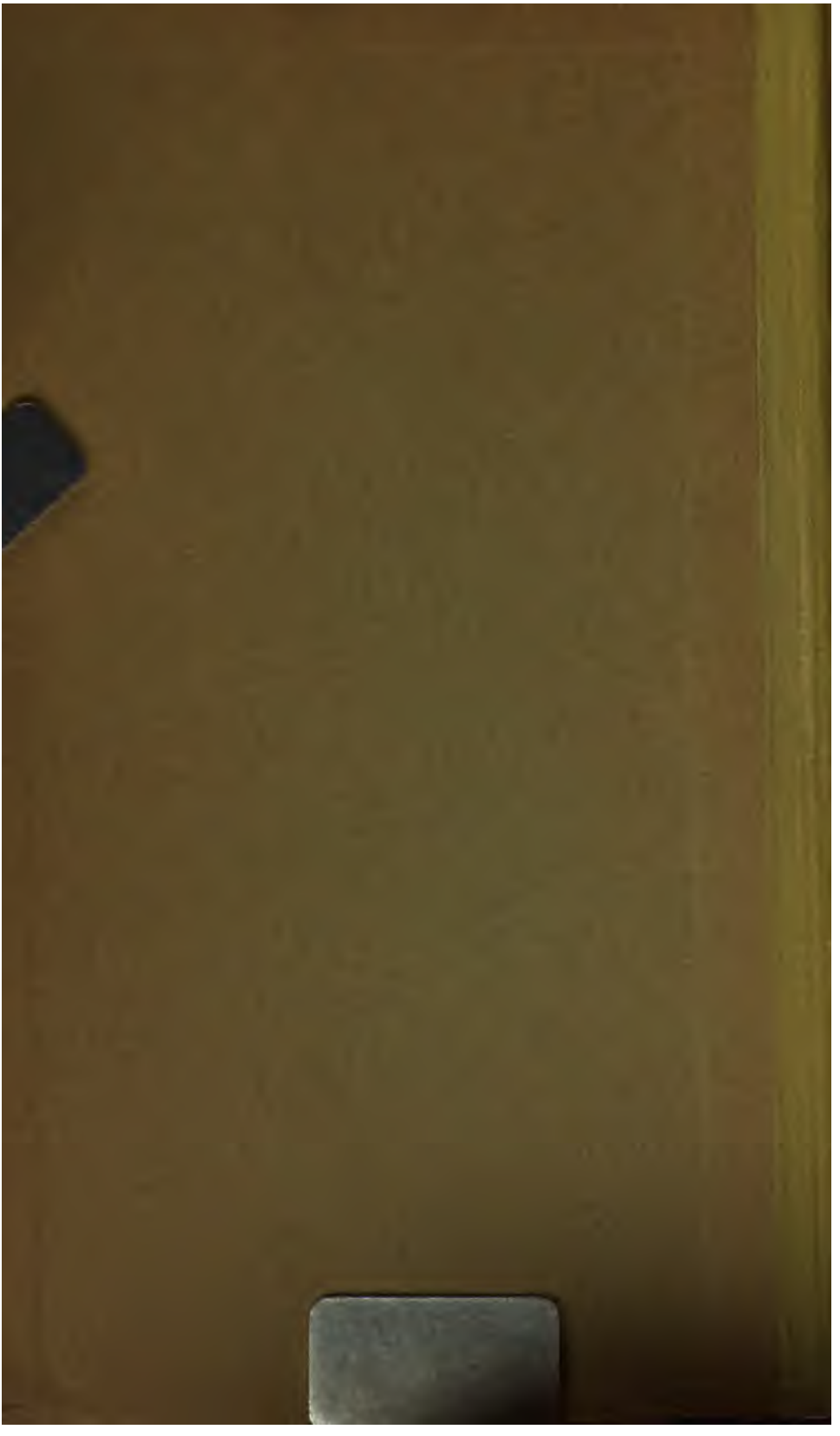

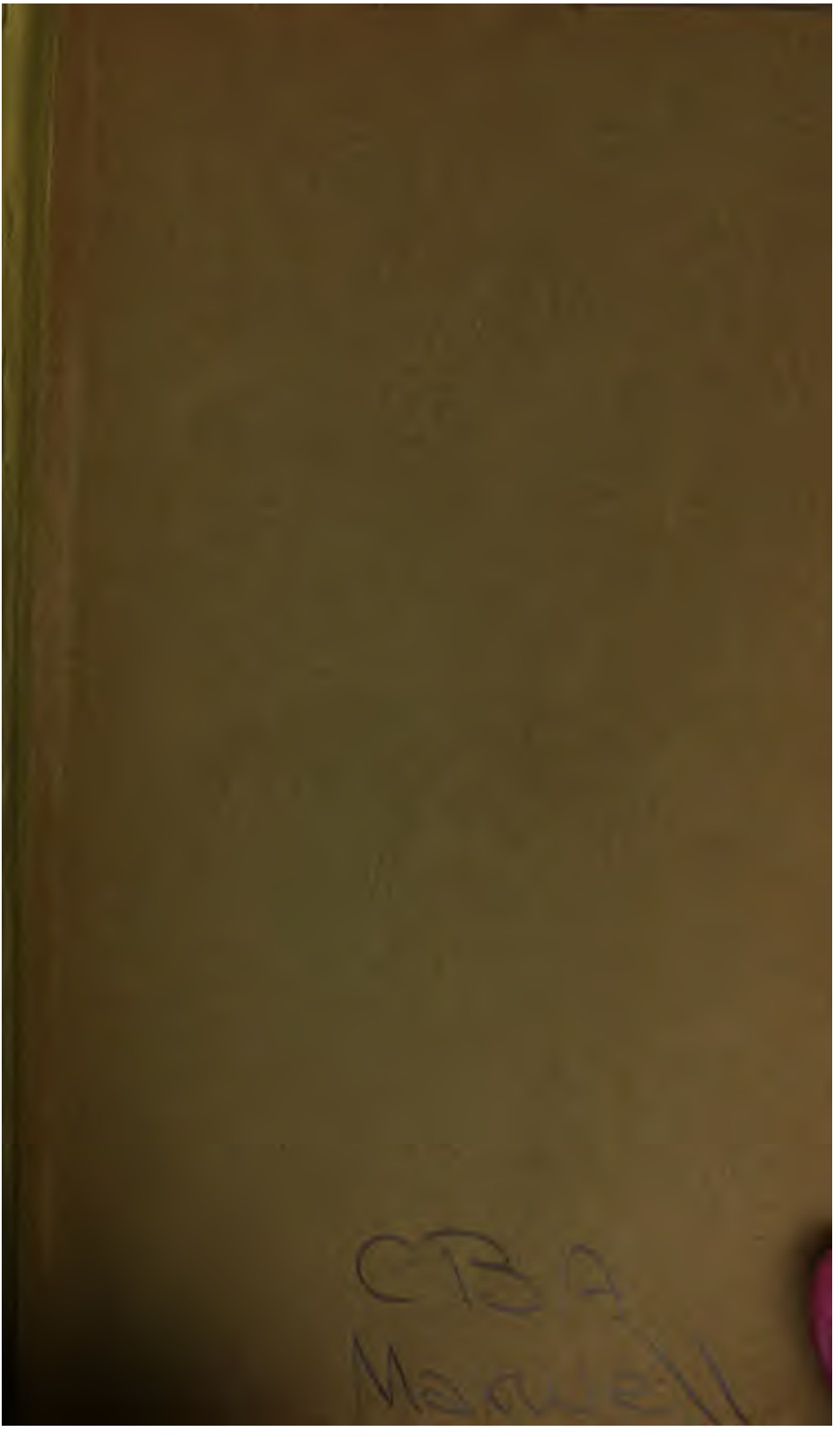

BEAUTIES

OF

Ancient

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

HISTORY;

TO WHICH IS ADDED, SOME PART OF

ROMAN HISTORY,

SO FAR AS IT IS CONNECTED WITH THEIR RESIDENCE AND GOVERNMENT IN THIS COUNTRY.

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

BY CAROLINE MAXWELL,

SELECTOR OF "THE BEAUTIES OF ANCIENT ELOQUENCE,"
&c. &c. &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

A VOLUME of Extracts, entitled, "The Beauties of Ancient Eloquence," having already appeared before the Public (which has been flatteringly received, and favourably noticed by Reviewers), has encouraged the Compiler to continue the work, under the sanction of so liberal a patronage, on the same principles of improvement and pleasure with which the first was undertaken. And again to present the reader (from the same prolific sources) further specimens of elegant Oratory, Military Atchievements, Politics, Ceremonies, and Amusements, exactly in the manner they occurred—either as they were natural, to the native customs of this country; or introduced into it, from the extensive intercourse the inhabitants of it have ever had with other parts of Europe. These accounts will take place, from the most remote

periods, down to the reign of James the First, and will be selected from the united authorities of Speed, Cambden, Stow, Hollenshed, &c. &c.

" The Compiler feels it a necessary duty again to repeat, in this place, by way of illustration, (though mentioned more fully in the preface to the first volume), the motives which led to the work being brought forward, and the peculiar advantage which it possesses, which cannot fail to procure it attention, and render it a valuable acquisition. The degree of interest and amusement the subjects treated on contain, will naturally inspire the mind of youth (for whom it is more particularly designed) with an ardent desire for a further and more enlarged knowledge of historical facts; and to be more minutely acquainted with some hero, who performed a glorious and magnanimous action; of a noble, who gave a princely banquet in his Gothic castle; or of one who was guilty of some atrocious act of perfidy, of brutal cruelty, or usurped tyrannic oppression; and to discover what the consequent reward, applause, or punishment, attendant on such and such proceedings.

Another striking advantage consists in being possessed in this collection of the exact copy of the descriptions given from the writings of those old historians in their own words and sentiments, not curtailed or abbreviated by modern refinement; and the real ideas of those venerable authors, whose works, becoming now nearly obselete, are scarcely to be found in any other place than the library of the careful collector of scarce and curious books—the possessor of which (in general) is as unwilling to lend one of his volumes for perusal, as his friend (on his part) would be to take the trouble to read it, or confine himself and his thoughts to decyphering the intricate difficulty of the black letter, or to puzzle out the uncouth phrases and aukward orthography (long since exploded and forgotten) of the author. The chance, therefore, for the perusal of works of this nature, (the learned and classic scholar always excepted), from the situation they are for the most part placed in, must be very circumscribed, and even more so, from the want of inclination which the majority of people have, to turn over the long neglected pages, or (probably) tattered leaves of a thick old folio of Ancient History.

Yet the disposition to admire, and even highly to enjoy the beauties of antiquity, in whatever shape they may appear, is by no means uncommon; nay, it is but justice to say, it is almost an universal passion; as many instances have proved, when the genuine charms are carefully culled from an incumbering load of uninteresting matter, (as gold cleared from its dross, or the diamond from its rough covering), and are fully displayed to the astonished eye of the negligent passer by, or superficial reader, by any one who has made such research a delightful study. Then it will be that the connoisseur will find his friend, who had persuaded himself that he had no taste for or pleasure in such dry pursuits, will be delighted;—when the produce of his investigations are brought forward, (even far beyond his former conception, and in contradiction to his ideas), let the study have been directed to whatever point of antiquity it might, whether it lay in the exploring and restoring the worm-eaten manuscript, or choice volume, the inspection of dilapidated edifices, tattered and defaced pictures, painted by old and eminent masters, or coins of scarce and curious impressions.

Whichever of these it may be, the effect is the same, when the various rude, or highly finished specimens of genius, yet spared by the hand of time, are accurately and clearly explained, with the subject considered, which they furnish for contemplation, for emulation, for moral reflection, and for agreeable conversation; the remarks which must be made on the nature of improvement, which has been progressive from age to age, or (on the contrary) of the deficiency in some branches of art or science, in the present day, from that known to former times; of the similarity which has existed in the minds and actions of men in all periods; and, in short, on every interesting occurrence, which may occupy the attention and pursuit of the amateur of taste and science.

It is then that the effect here mentioned, will be agreeably and truly observed; an interest is excited by description, which is encreased by further elucidation. The latent sparks of curiosity and admiration, are by these means animated, and a desire for further information succeeds, on subjects which now appear through a different me-

dium. Contrasts and comparisons between past and present, become a stimulus to rouse the spirit of industry and application, a fondness for literature follows, and not unfrequently, the fire of genius may thus casually be lighted up in those minds, where otherwise it might never have had existence.

From considerations of this nature, it is, (the result of much experience and attention) that these selections have been arranged and made public, and the confirmation of the opinion expressed, of the consequence and effect of the good taste of one person, on the judgment of another, has been sufficiently and satisfactorily proved, even in this little work.

As the very remote passages and occurrences of the history of all countries, is involved in much obscurity, it is generally considered but of trifling import, is lightly passed over, and seldom recollected or referred to. In that of Great Britain, it is the same; the early part is so confused by the short reigns of the Princes, the intricacy of analogous names, by tradition, or by Monkish su-

perstitions and descriptions; that it is rendered difficult to retain, to recollect the particulars, or properly arrange their connection. On this account, the recording impressive circumstances which took place under different governors, whether by legal, or usurped authority, may (perhaps) imprint them more strongly on the juvenile mind, and the period and reign in which they happened, than the regular reading of English history, in the succession of its Danish, Saxon, and Norman kings. And a single extraordinary adventure, strike the recollection more forcibly, be better retained, and more readily remembered when the event took place, than when the whole is progressively read, in a negligent manner, or without such passages being pointed out, as those of material consequence. The Extracts thus offered to the public, it is hoped and ardently desired, will tend to this general improvement to the young, and likewise become a source of pleasing recollection to those, even the best read, and most conversant in ancient and modern history.

By a singular chance, or coincidence it happens, that though the selections which compose this

work, have been long arranged, that a considerable part of it will, probably, be rendered more acceptable to the reader, from containing the real historical facts, from the pen of Phillip de Commines, respecting the negociations between Lewis the Eleventh, of France, and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, on which the celebrated author of Waverley, has founded his last novel of 'Quintin Durward,' and likewise many other interesting relations from that elegant and admired author.

The opportunity which now (lastly) offers, must not be omitted, again to repeat, a request to the peruser, for peculiar attention to the elegant simplicity of style these ancient authors adopt, in their accounts and description of events, which carries with it that agreeable sensation, which all must experience, when a venerable, respectable, and intelligent person, recounts the occurrences of his early youth, or some transaction of importance, which took place in his remembrance. The detail may (perhaps) be found too circumstantial, but yet by far too interesting, amusing, and instructive, for the attentive auditor to wish one syllable of the story to be curtailed.

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BEAUTIES

OF

ANCIENT HISTORY.

IN conformity to an observation made in the introduction to this work—"that concise accounts of important events, ever make the deepest impression on the mind"—the compiler conceives no passages can be better adapted to the opening of this book than an extract from Speed, which contains a clear and comprehensive detail of the remote periods of government in this country; preparing the ideas for the actors, and the incidents which follow. A careful selection shall be made of events the most interesting, affecting, and curious, that the excellent authors already named supply, for the entertainment of the peruser—whose good taste (there can be little doubt) will be highly gratified by the style, matter, and (in many of the quotations) personal knowledge of the author of the facts which he commemorates:

And no historical anecdote will find place in this collection which is not from the pen of the best and most authentic writers.

Extract from Speed.

OF THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF BRITTAIN.

"Our land, peopled from Japheth, the first son of Noah, fell unto those sons of Gomar and Javan (the first and fourth sons of Japheth) which inhabited those parts of Europe, whose issue were most famously known by the name of Brittains. At first naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no sooner were frequented with the civil Romans, than they covered their cut painted bodies with garments, and shortly imitated them even in their most civilized actions; yea, scarcely was Christ taken down from his cross, but they became Christians, (the greatest glory of any nation), and amongst them the Gospel had her first progress by established authority.

"Their government was under kings, and those of as honorable a respect as were any other in those west parts of the world, both in training their subjects with due obedience, and ministering of laws for the maintenance of estate. Their wars, domestic and foreign, were so well managed

with policy and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themselves against their assaults, and in the other steaded the Romans in most of their conquests; which cost them lastly their own subversion, when their warriors and virgins were consumed, and transported into other parts, whilst the native land lay exposed to the will of invaders.

"The glory thirsting Romans, from a crew of lawless shepherds, now lately become lords of the world, were the first that set foot, with displayed ensign, for the conquest of Brittain: and the same first assailed by Julius Cæsar from the coasts of Gallia. Which his attempt was so honourable in esteem of their Emperors, that Claud, the fifth in succession, holding the triumph but base that attends upon authority, without action of price, made choice of Brittain to adorn his triumphant chariot, that this island, sited as was thought in another world, and but part thereof shewed by Cæsar to the Romans, might add remembrance of name to his forgetful person: and to that end, having made hither himself, stamped his conquest upon his coin thus—"*De Britann,*"—and upon his aged knees crept up the steps of the capital to give thanks of victory unto his Gods on the day of his triumph; which, though for a small part of this island's subjection, was yet accomplished with more than ordinary magnificence, and the shews greater than usually had been seen for the conquest of far larger and better known kingdoms.

"And with as great care was it kept whilst the Romans kept their own greatness; but when her high mounted pillar overswayed her own base, and the far spread boughs were grown too weighty for the stem, many hands at once grasped at the Imperial crown, and all of them together tore the branches from the body of that fair tree, by whom also the fair and flourishing cedars of Brittain were shaken, and left naked both of fruit and leaf; so that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other utterly defaced, and neither of them any longer able to support their own standings, gave place unto destiny, that would now have both down, whereby the jewel so much desired, and which had been kept with so much care, was now laid at stake to them that could win it; and Brittain abandoned by the Romans without further claim, after they had been lords thereof for the space of five hundred years.

"The next actors upon Brittain's fair stage were the Saxons, a people of Germany, fierce, bold, and irreligious, as for most part the rest of the nations in those days were. These infesting with piracies the coasts of Brittain and Gallia, grew both fearful and famous in profession of military service. In France, they seized upon the country of Baiocesses; in Germany, by intrusion, they unseated the Juenians; in Holland and Freezeland they encroached upon the Batavians; and Cimbrica Chersonessus (now a conti-

nent of Denmark) they made the place of their abode.

" From thence they often assailed the coasts of this island, even whilst the Romans held it for theirs; and were often put back by Stilicho, and others, whose praises the poet Claudian chaunted aloud. But the Romans departed; and Brittain left bare of men, their lands wasted by famine, by tumultuous uproars, and by bandlings of great ones, who should be greatest, the Scots and Picts (ancient enemies to their peace) took the advantage, and continually made bloody incursions into their land. And albeit, a stone wall was raised athwart the whole continent to impede their inroads; yet that availed little, their assaults were so great.

" Whereupon the Saxons were sent for, and in their first service freed the Brittains from those raging Picts. The lands' defence they then undertook, and the inhabitants consented to maintain the charge; which, whilst it was in giving, was thankfully received; but once received, was ungratefully forgot. And they, like the ravens of Arabia, who so long as they are full yield a pleasant noise, but being empty make a horrible cry, emptied faster than the Brittains could fill, and ever complained they had not enough; till, lastly, by surprize, they got all into their own claws.

" Then divided they amongst themselves the

best of the land, and drove their receivers into the worst and waste mountains of Wales, every one of their captains sharing a part to himself, and of one Imperial crown, making seven diadems to adorn their own heads; which long were not worn without intestine wars; each of them striving to enlarge his own upon his next, till God and destiny brought all into one, even to great Egbert, who forbade the island's old name, and commanded these new united provinces to be called Anglia.

"Yet no sooner was this accomplished with assured hopes conceived that the Saxons' glory should henceforward ascend, and spread forth with peace, but that a strong and savage nation, fierce as the Scythians, cast their eyes of desire upon that beautiful crown, and presently attempted; but never intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the same, till they had set it on their own helmets; and these Saxons, worn out with resistance, gave place to the Danes, when time had worn out five hundred and sixty-three years of their government.

"These Danes thus succeeding (though with no better right to enjoy), were a stout sturdy nation, whose many piracies both France and Bretaigne had many times felt before they attained the end of this their goal. For these multiplying like bees in their hive, the land of their nativity was too little for each to have a part, upon which

occasion a custom was practised to banish some, that the rest might have room. These exiles, therefore, chiefly consisting of their youth, fell upon other lands, with no less danger then the pulling of a sword out of a sheath, and grievously wounding, wheresoever it fell; but no where more deadly than in England, which for two hundred and eighteen years continuance they incessantly assaulted;—sometimes harrowing the country before them, and carrying away great booty to their ships—sometimes impoverishing the people, by exacting great sums of money for composition of peace—sometimes expelling the inhabitants, and seating themselves in their places—and sometimes sharing the country with their kings, and taking unto themselves none of the worst; but not as other conquerors, to build, sow, and plant, but to lay waste, cast down, and destroy, sparing neither erections for civil use, nor places of oratory dedicated to divine.

"Yet the garland once gotten by their king Canute was worn with great glory, and by three of these Danish kings England's crown was enjoyed;—the first of them potent, religious, wise, and just—the second, illegitimate, an usurper, very agile, but idle—and the third, a tyrant, a tax raiser, lascivious, and a glutton, in which excess at Lambeth he suddenly ended his life; when the land became cleared of the Danes' sore oppressions, after they had long attempted, and

their kings for five and twenty years space worn the royal diadem of this realm.

"These four nations fulfilling their times by Heaven's assignment, in gaining, keeping, and again losing the rich garland of Great Brittain's government. A fifth, inferior to none, made thereunto a double claim, and by a third (more sure than either of other), which was their conquering sword, got it. These last (which I pray may be the last) were the Normans—a people fierce and valorous, whose many sea adventures were so great, in the days of Charles the Great, as that he wept to foresee the harm they would do to his France; which proved so many, that Charles the Bold, his grand-child, was forced to part with the earldom of Charters unto Hastings, a Norman; Charles the Grosse, with the country Newstria, unto Godfrey, their chieftain; and Charles the Simple, with all the countries which lay betwixt the river Seine and Loyre, unto Rollo, their leader—whereon he became duke, and that dutchy from him named Normandy. Whence William the Bastard, the seventh in descent, in a bloody field, at Battle in Sussex, won the English crown from King Harold, that then held it, when by changing of laws, disinheriting of nobles, and by bestowing the lands' revenues upon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious monarchy.

"At first somewhat bloody, as conquests commonly prove, and the crown bandied for, among

brethren and kindred, as what will not the desire of a diadem do—the two younger brethren successively wearing it, to the prejudice of their elder*—and Stephen, having no right but such as invaders pretend.

" But Henry Plantagenet placed on the throne, and three hundred and thirty-one years taken up in the reigns of fourteen kings of his line, their acts afford matter of more princely consequence, their dominions spread wider, themselves being the lawful inheritors to the third part of France, and to the whole by the title of their third Edward, and by the conquest of their fifth Henry. And surely, had not the civil dissensions of Lancaster and York spent their weapons in the wounds of themselves, those kings and their successors undoubtedly had been doubly crowned even to this day. But those roses plucked off by dissentious hands, and their branches torn down in homebred broils, their royal roots lay as it were dead in the earth, till Teuder of Lancaster, with Plantagenet of York, gave them vigour and sap, by binding both together in wedlock's golden band. Whereby also the long dead stem of the ancient British kings began again to bud forth, and five renowned princes of that surname (Teuder) succeeded to England's throne.

* Robert Carthesse.

"The first of them, the richest and wisest king of this western world; the second, the sorest wounder of the papal authority; the third, the forwardest in all pious actions; the fourth, the ferventest for the religion of Rome; and the fifth, a maiden queen, the most famously renowned amongst the world's monarchs—under whose reigns, one hundred and sixteen years were fully complete and run.

"And were it not that the English are taxed to be over-much addicted unto vain prophecies, and that Merlin was prohibited by decree of council, I might alledge his, and that of Aquila at Shaftesbury, both of foreshewing, that the British empire, after the Saxons and Normans, should return again to her ancient stock and name.—Notwithstanding, truth bids us acknowledge how far God hath accomplished both these in the royal person of out now Sovereign (the royal James the First), the one by his descent from the loins of our royal Teuder, king Henry the Seventh, and the other by his royal edict, in restoring to the island her ancient name Britannia—himself being the first monarch of the two kingdoms' union, and the greatest of command since Canutus the Dane.

"The cords of whose royal tents we pray may be further extended, that those naked Virginians may be covered under the curtains

of his most Christian government, and that the Sceptre of his Peace may bud, as Aaron's rod, in his hand, and in the hand of his son, and son's sons, so long as the sun and moon endureth."

An Extract from the venerable Beda.—A D. 593.

"King Ethelfrid, a man very valiant and thirsty for renown, succeeded his father in the Northumbrian kingdom. Him Beda compares to Saul in Israel, excepting only in the knowledge of God's true religion; to whom (continueth Beda) might be applied the saying of Jacob touching Benjamin, 'That like a ravening wolf he devoured his prey in the morning, and divided the spoil thereof in the evening.' For he made greater conquests daily, over the afflicted Brittons, than all the kings of the Anglais had done; and peopling their possessions with his Saxons, held the right owners under subjection and tribute.

"This his prosperity Edanaden, king of the Scots, greatly envied, and attempting to crop it, and to plant himself upon root of like honour, he assembled a great and strong army against him, and at the place called Degsaston struck battle with him, wherein, notwithstanding he was overthrown, and the Scots discomfitted, yet with such

loss to king Ethelfrid, that Theobold his brother, with part of the army whereof he was general, were all vanquished and destroyed. This battle went so sore against the Scottish Brittains, that (saith Beda) no king of that nation durst attempt to meet the English in the field for a long time after. And the fortune of the day did so much augment both his fame and also his haughty spirit, that presently he reinforced his power against the Brittains that were at Cairlegion, where of them he made a most lamentable slaughter; and that not only of the soldiers prepared for fight, but also of those religious and harmless monks there assembled for prayer.

"These monks were of the monastry of Bangor in North Wales, famous for antiquity, form of discipline, and spacious circuit. It was situated in the fruitful valley, now called the English Mailar, and upon the banks of the river Dee, where it extended itself, as in the circuit of a walled city, containing within it the quantity of a mile and a half of ground. Two of those gates may at this day easily be discerned, the one of them called Port Hagan, lying by the north, and the other Port Calais, situate on the south: the river Dee, having now changed his channel, runneth thorow the middest, betwixt both the gates, which stand asunder five hundred paces.

"This monastry (saith Clarindentius) was the mother of all others in the world, who, in memory

of the 'Seven Churches of Asia,' did distribute into seven portions their monks, every one numbering three hundred souls, and all of them living by the labour of his own hands. Many of these assembling at Cairlegion, to assist their Brittish brethren with their supplications unto God against this Ethelfrid, surnamed the wild, and his fierce soldiers, the infidel Saxons, with three days fast spent their time in continual prayer. But king Ethelfrid beholding their manners, demanded the cause, and understanding that they called for assistance of their God against him and his army, he set upon their Guarder Brockmal, a man of arms, who, to save his own life, left all theirs to the sword, wherein perished one thousand and two hundred Christian monks, besides the discomfiture of the Brittain's host.

"Many of these monks were interred in their own monastries, whose bodies have been found in the memory of man, in the rotten weeds wherein they were slain. But as his fame encreased daily abroad, so were his fears augmented continually at home. For Edwine, the son of Ella, and third king of Daira, a gallant young prince, and newly seated in his father's kingdom, wrought many suspicions in Ethelfrid's head, though he was brother to his wife Acca; yet the nearness of their alliance no whit diminished his jealous conceits; whom therefore, by privy conspiracies, and apparent pursuits, he so daily molested, that he

was forced to save his life by avoiding the country; and tossed in exile, from place to place, was lastly received and succoured by Redwald, King of the East Angles.

"Who in this quarrel forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting Ethelfrid in the field, slew him there, near the river Idle, after he had reigned twenty-three years—in the year of Christ, his incarnation, 617."

A description of the Persons, Costumes, and Manners, of the Saxon invaders of Great Brittain—From the works of Witichindus,—the Monk,—Tacitus,—and Sidonius Apollinaris.

"These Germans were a people well set, stern of countenance, tall of stature, grey eyed, of a fair aspect, and their hair yellow, very comely, and their limbs and their bodies well proportioned; bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory,—for which parts, the Franks held them in great admiration, and wondered at their new and strange attire, their armour, and their bushy locks of hair, that from their heads overspread their shoulders. Their heads and beards they suffer (saith Tacitus) to grow at length, and never put off that vowed ornament

and bond of valour till they have slain an enemy.

"But then upon blood and spoil they uncover their forehead, and say they have paid back the price of their birth; and think themselves worthy of their country and parents. Their curled locks they bind up in knots, and standing on end, tie it in the crown only; that is the harmless care they have of beauty, to seem more terrible to the enemy."

And by Sidonius Apollinaris his testimony is—"that they used to shave off the hair of their heads, reserving only a tuft in the crown; about which they wore a hoop or plate of copper, which caused the hair to stand upright. A most valorous race of men (he continues), excelling all others in piracies, and seemed more fearful to live on land than at sea; whose intrusions and sudden violence both France and Brittain with great damages felt. For in Brittain an office of charge was instituted to defend the coasts from their irruptions, the captain whereof was called the Count, or Earl of the Saxon shore." Of whose piracies and savage cruelties the author Sidonius thus writes—

"So many rowers as you see, so many arch pirates think you behold; they all of them together so command, obey, teach, and learn, to rob and steal. There is no enemy so cruel as this, that setteth upon others at unawares; and,

as occasion serves, as warily slips himself away. He setteth at nought such as encounter him, and he bringeth to nought those that take no heed of him; whom he courseth, he surely overtaketh; when he flies, he is sure to escape. To this service shipwrecks inure him, they terrify him not. Be there a tempest up, the same serveth him, and to assail others. They never weigh anchor upon the enemies coasts, but with a resolution again to return; and their manner is to kill every tenth captain, with a lingering and dolourous torment, for to such vows they bind themselves, and with such sacrifices they discharge their vows again; being indeed not so much purified by such sacrifices, as polluted with sacraledge; and the bloody and abominable murderers think it a religious thing, rather to torment a prisoner unto death, than to set him free for a ransom.

"Their apparel was much different from others, and seemed strange to the Gauls; it was a kind of cassock, called sagum, clasped, or (for want of a clasp) fastened with a thorn, having otherwise no garments at all, but going quite naked. Nevertheless, the richer sort were distinguished from others by their garments, which were neither large nor wide, as the Sammates and Parthians used to wear them; but strait, and shewing the proportion of every part of their body: besides, they wore pelts, made of beasts skins. The men and women's attire differed in nothing saving that

the women use linen garments, trimmed, and interlaced with purple, and without sleeves, their arms bare, and bosoms naked and uncovered.

"As a mark of ignominy amongst the men, they wore an iron ring, as a sign of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the conquest of a man. Great knives, or rather broad bending swords, they trussed upon little shields athwart their backs (from which Engulhusius announceth they had the appellation of Saxon). He that abandoned, or lost this shield in battle, was debarred from the public sacrifices and assemblies, the greatest disgrace that could be; for very shame and grief thereof many, many times, hanged themselves. And upon these shields their manner was to lift up their new elected general, and with acclamations so to carry him through their camp.

"Terrific were these Saxons, full of agility, and for their sudden invasions feared of all.—Their fashion was to go forth singing to the wars, carrying before them certain images out of their consecrated woods; their manner was, before they joined battle, to try (therein arming one of their own against some captive enemy) what success was to be expected; and this they kept as a law inviolable. That none might presume to bear arms before he was solemnly admitted, where, in a frequent assembly, a shield was given him by his parents or kindred, and this was the

pledge as it were of his first honour; he being till then reputed but a particular of a family, but thenceforward a member of the commonwealth.

"They were sensible, wise, and considerate in their service, in preferring choice captains, in following their leaders, in observing their ranks, in taking the advantage and benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night; holding fortune always doubtful, but valour always certain.

"Their weapons (spears, swords, and the cross bow), that with a horse furnished, shield, sword, and lance, their virgins were received in marriage, accounting them for the greatest bonds.—And amongst these martial Germans, those habiliments were in such use that they did meet neither at feasts nor in counsel but in their armour."

A curious and scarce Anecdote.—A description of a Notary sent by the Roman Emperor Constantius to Brittain, to apprehend some of whom he was jealous. From Simon Dunelmensis.

"At this time the general in the army in Brittain was one Gracianus (the father of Valentinian, the Emperor), by birth an Hungarian, and so strong of limb, that no five men could pull a rope

out of his hand with all their force, whereof he was surnamed Fanarius the Roper. This man, giving entertainment to an enemy of the emperor's, was considered in confiscation of all his goods by Constantius; who now reigned sole emperor, unto whom also the Brittains submitted themselves—whose deputy was aged Martin, a man virtuous and upright, as he witnessed by his death.

"For Constantius, whose base and distrustful heart feared the wagging of every leaf by the slaughter of many guiltless, thinking to make himself secure, sent one Paulus, a notary, into Brittain, to apprehend those he sought.

"The said notary was a Spaniard, of a pestilent wit and subtilty, especially in finding out all quirks and devices to endanger men's estates; whose business being now to apprehend, and bring away such martial men as had entered action in conspiracy. He under that pretence drew into danger many who were guiltless, and the emperor's true subjects; some of whom he imprisoned, many he tormented, and others with manacles and chains he so bruised that therefore he was called Catena. Old Martin, the deputy, much lamenting their miseries, besought the Spaniard to surcease, and not with the offenders thus punish the innocent. Whereat the proud catchpole so much disdained, that he threatened and sought to bring Martin before the Counsel,

and that in bands in the manner of a traitor;—which so much incensed the aged man, that with his dagger he assailed him; but perceiving the wound he gave him was not deadly, he stabbed the same into his own side, whereof he presently died.

"Unfortunate was he in this part, but otherwise a most righteous and worthy man, that thus attempted to ease the wrongs of the oppressed Brittains."

Though the first part of these selections, entitled the "Beauties of Ancient Eloquence," was particularly designed to introduce to the attention of the reader the peculiar force and eloquence of the language of times long past—it is not, however, so entirely occupied by that particular branch of history as to preclude many other interesting events. In like manner, occasionally will be introduced specimens of ancient eloquence, which the selector's further research has presented, and which have been esteemed well calculated to adorn and add value to this work.

The Speech of Otho, the Roman Emperor, to appease a tumult amongst his soldiers, pointing out the necessity of obedience in an army. From Cornelius Tacitus.

"My Fellow Soldiers—I am not come hither to incite you to love me, and less to exhort you to virtue and valour; for of both you have great store, and too much: but I come to request a moderation of your valour, and a mean in your love towards me. No hatred it was, no desire to have, (which things have set many an army at discord), no danger you feared and wished to avoid; but a tender care and excessive affection it was towards me, more zealous than considerate, that bred and excited the yesternight's trouble: for oft the causes of things being good, yet, where judgement is wanting, pernicious ends do often ensue. We are going to war. What—Is it expedient that all messengers have open audience, that all matters be handled in presence of all? The nature of warring will not endure it; the swift sliding away of occasions permitteth it not. I tell you, it is behoveful that all soldiers should be ignorant of some things, as know othersome. The authority of captains, the rigour of discipline, is of that nature, that many things must be only commanded, and simply bidden by the centurions and tribunes. If, when things are bidden, every

one may demand and question the matter, obedience failing, government withal will fall to the ground; or, shall there at midnight likewise the alarm be given? Shall a lost and drunken companion or two (for I cannot believe there were more who madded in the last uproar), shall they dare to imbrue their hands in a tribune's and centurion's blood, and rush into their Emperor's pavilion? You did indeed the same for my sake; but yet in the dark, in such a confusion, occasion might also have served against me. If Vitellius and his adherents had chose to dispose our minds, as they listed, what else could they wish but sedition and discord?—that the soldier should not obey his centurion, the centurion his tribune, footmen and horsemen confusedly should run to their ruin. Surely, fellow soldiers, by daily obeying, not curiously scaning the captain's commandment, is all good soldiery and military matters maintained—and that army in danger is always most valiant, which, before the danger, is most quiet of all. Be you only well armed and valiant minded; to advise and direct your valour leave that to me. The fault was but of few, the punishment shall be only of two: commend you the rest to abolish and eraze out of memory that dismal night's work; such bloody words against the senate let never any army once dare for to speak. The head of the empire, the ornament of all provinces; no, not the very Germans them-

selves, whom Vitellius specially raiseth against us, durst ever have demanded to death! And shall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race, require to murder that honourable order, through whose glorious brightness we dim and disgrace the obscure baseness of Vitellius's faction?

"Vitellius hath indeed some countries at commandment; he hath a certain counterfeit of an army: but the senate is of our side, therefore the state is of our side—traitors of theirs. What?—do you think this goodly fair city consisteth in houses and stones put together? These are dumb and dead things; they may decay, they may be repaired again, as it chanceth: the eternity of the state, the peace of the world, your own well-doing and mine, is founded upon the safety of the senate. The father and builder of our city did first, by God's approbation, ordain and institute this worthy assembly; from the kings to the princes never discontinued: then, as we have taken it from our progenitors, so let us deliver it to our successors. The senate is the seminary of princes, and you of the senate."

"This oration was gratefully accepted, and the tumult (for the present) composed."

Extracts from the Life of Julius Agricola—and of his first attempts upon Ireland, Scotland, and Brittain. From Cornelius Tacitus.

OF THE CONDUCT OF AGRICOLA IN BRITTAIN.

"The winter ensuing was spent in most profitable and politic device. For whereas the Brittains were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to war; to induce them by pleasures to quietness and rest, he* exhorted in private, and helped them in common to build temples, and houses, and places of public resort, commending the forward, and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kind of necessity upon them, whilst each man contended to gain the lieutenant's good will. Moreover, the noblemen's sons he took and instructed in the liberal sciences; preferring the wits of the Brittains before the students of France, as being more curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the gown much used among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices—to sumptuous galleries—and baths, and exquisite

* Agricola.

banquetings, which things the ignorant termed civility—being indeed a point of their bondage.

"In the third year of his war, he discovered new countries, coasting along till he came to the Firth of Taws, which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the army had become toiled with cruel tempests, yet they durst not assail them, and the Romans had leisure, moreover, and space to fortify there. They that were skilful that way observed, that never any captain did more advisedly chuse his places: no castle planed by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon condition surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they issued forth; for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole year's provision. So they wintered there without fear; every garrison guarding itself, and needing no help of their neighbours: the enemy assailing sometimes, but in vain, without any success, and driven thereupon to despair. For the losses of summer they were commonly wont to repair with winter events; now summer and winter alike they went to worse. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of an exploit done by another; but were it centurion, or of other degree, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yield him always his due commendation. By some he is said to have been somewhat bitter in rebuking; and indeed the man was, as towards the good, of most sweet disposi-

tion, so to bad and lewd persons unpleasant and sour: but his choler passed away with his words: closeness and silence in him you needed not fear: he esteemed it more honest to offend, than hate.

"The fourth summer was spent in perusing and ordering that which he had overrun: and if the valiant minds of the armies could have permitted, or accepted it so, they need not to have sought other limit of Brittainnie. For Glora, and Bodotria, two arms of two contrary seas, shooting mightily into the land, are only divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified then with garrison and castle; so that the Romans were absolute lords of all on this side, having cast out the enemy, as it were, into another land.

"The fifth year of the war, Agricola first taking sea, went over, and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britainnie, which lyeth against Ireland, more in hope than from fear. For Ireland, if it might have been won, lying between Brittain and Spain, and fitly also for the French sea, would haply have united, to the great advantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the empire together. In bigness, it is inferior to Brittainnie, howbeit bigger than the islands of our seas. The soil and temperature of the air, the nature and the fashions of the people, differ not much from

the Brittish. The ports and places of access are more known, by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had before received a prince of that country, driven out by civil dissension, whom under colour of courtesy and friendship he retained, till occasion should serve. I have heard him often times say, that with one legion and some few aydes, Ireland might be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our Brittish affairs, if the Roman forces were planted elsewhere, and liberty as it were banished out of sight.

"Now in the summer, which began the sixth year of his office, because a general rising in arms of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies: he manned a fleet, to search the creeks and harbours of the ample region beyond it, backing them first of all with a navy, the rest of his strength, and with a goodly brave shew bringing war both by land and sea.—And oft, so it chanced, that the horsemen and footmen, and the sea soldiers, met, and made merry in the same camp, extolling and magnifying each their own prowess and adventures; making their vaunts and comparisons (soldier like), the one of the woods and high mountains, the other of the danger of tempests and waves; the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the ocean subdued.

"The Brittains, as by the prisoner it was understood, were amazed also at the sight of the navy, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation, and greater fame (as the manner is of matters unknown), assailed our castles, as challengers, braving and putting in fear: insomuch that some of our side, who would seem to be wise, being dastard in deed, counselled the general to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of his own accord, than to be repelled in shame. In the mean season, Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies meant to divide themselves, and to give the onset in different companies. Whereupon, lest he should be inclosed about, and entrapped by their multitude, and skill in the country, he marched also with his army divided in three; which, when it was known to the enemy, changing advice upon the sudden, and uniting their forces together, they jointly assailed by night the ninth legion, as being of weakest resistance; and having slain the watch, partly asleep, and partly amazed with fear, brake into the camp.

"And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola having understood by spies what way the enemy had taken, and following their footsteps, commanded the lightest horsemen and footmen to play on their backs, and

maintain the skirmish; and anon, the whole army to shout: and when it drew near to be day, the glittering of the ensigns were seen. So the Brittains being quailled with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage again, and being out of peril of their persons, fought now for their honour: freshly assailing their late assailers, and driving them to the gates; where, in the straits, the conflict was sharp and cruel, till, in the end, the enemies were forced to flee, whilst both our armies contended, the one to have seemed to help their fellows; the other, to have needed none other to help them: and if the bogs and woods had not covered their flight, that victory had ended the war. Upon this battle so manfully fought, so furiously won, the army presuming that to their prowess all things were easy and open, cried to lead into Caledonia, and to find out the limit of Brittainnie, with a course of continual conquests: and those that e'erwhile were so wary and wise, waxed forward enough after that event, and grew to speak bigly: such is the hard condition of wars; if ought fall out well, all challenge a part, misfortunes are only imputed to one. Contrariwise, the Brittains presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the general, by using the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit of their stomach, but armed their youth, transported their children and their wives into places of safety, and sought by assemblies and religious rites to

establish an association of the cities together. And so far that year both parties departed away.

"The same summer, a cohort of Usipians levied in Germany, and sent over into Brittainnie, committed an heinous and memorable act. For having slain a centurion, and certain soldiers set over them for discipline, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the masters, by force, to execute their charge: and only one doing his office, the other two, being suspected, were thereupon slain; this strange going out, the fact not yet being noised abroad, was gazed and wondered at. Afterwards, being driven uncertainly hither and thither, on assailing the Brittains, which stood in defence of their own, often prevailing and sometimes repulsed, they came at last to that misery, that they were inforced to eat one another; first of the weakest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Brittainnie, and loosing their vessels for lack of government, they were intercepted as pirates and robbers; and some of them being bought by merchants, as slaves, and by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew into a name, by giving first notice of so great and so rare an adventure.

"In the beginning of the summer, Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mischance, which happened at his own house; for he lost his own son, being about a year old. Which unfor-

tunate hap, he neither bore out as some great men have done, in the like vain gloriously, nor took it again so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and sorrow, used the wars as one of his remedies. Therefore sending his navies before, which by spoiling in sundry places should induce a greater and uncertainer terror upon them, he made ready and followed himself with his army, joining thereto some of the valiantest Brittains, whom, by long experience in peace, he had found most faithful, and so arrived at the Mount Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Brittains, not daunted with the event of the former battle, and attending for nothing else but revenge, or servitude, and being taught at the length, that common danger must be repelled with concord, by leagues, and embassages, had assembled the power of all the cities together, about thirty thousand armed men, the view being taken, besides an endless number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty old men, renowned in wars, and wearing the badges due to their honour." *

* See the memorable oration of Galgacus on this occasion (in continuation), inserted in the Beauties of Ancient Eloquence. This account (written by a Roman), is a most flattering (though just) testimony of the courage, fortitude, and perseverance of the Brittains.

An interesting detail of the Death of Agricola, an extract peculiarly remarkable for morality and pathos;—and as recording the last moments and words of so great a man, and one who had so great a share in the management of affairs in this country, under the government of the Romans, is well worthy particular attention. The character given of Agricola being likewise most amiable.

Tacitus, having recorded all the events of the life of this great general, thus continues—

"Besides the Emperor (Domitian) was prone and headlong to anger, (and it is the property of man's nature to hate those they have hurted), and the more close he was the more inexorable, yet was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricola's discretion and wary behaviour. Let them well know, that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the stream of the time, that great men may be found, even under bad princes; that dutiful obedience and modesty (if industry and valour be joined), may attain to that degree of fame and renown, which some, following dangerous courses have aspired unto, by an ambitious death, without any further profit at all.

" The end of Agricola's life brought mourning to us, and grief to his friends, and even by strangers and persons unknown was lamented, the common sort also, and this retchles people of ours both came oft to his house, and in all public places and meetings had it in speech: neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoice, or so suddenly forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was, a constant report that he was made away by poison. Of mine own knowledge I dare assure nothing; this only, that during the time of his sickness, there came from Domitian, oftener than was usually wont from princes, who visit by others both of his secretest servants and nearest physicians to see him, whether as of carefulness, or only to spy out, I leave it uncertain. Certain it is, that the day of his death, every degree of his going away, was carried in post to the prince; and few men believed the news should be hastened so much, that he would be sorry to hear. Notwithstanding he made show of great sorrow in mind and countenance, being now out of danger of that which he hated, and one that could more easily dissemble his joy than his fear.

" When Agricola's will was read, wherein he made Domitian co-heir with his most dear wife and most dutiful daughter, it was certain he most greatly rejoiced thereat, as if it had been a sign of honour, or proceeded of judgement; so blind-

ed he was, and so greatly corrupted by continual custom of flatteries, that he could not perceive, that no good father did ever appoint for his heir, any prince, but a tyrant. Agricola was born the thirteenth day of June, Caius Cæsar being third time Consul, and died the six and fiftieth year of his age, the four and twentieth day of August, Collega and Priscus being Consuls.

"Of personage (if posterity desire to be informed thereof) he was rather well proportioned than tall, with an assuredness, and great grace in his countenance. A good man, you would easily think him, and willingly a great. And although he died in the middle course of his ripe age, in respect of honour, and glory, he lived with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicity, which consisteth in virtue, he had fulfilled the measure. And having obtained beside, Consular, and triumphant ornaments, what more could fortune annex to his estate? Excess of riches, he delighted not in; honourably he had, and according to his degree, yea happy may he be thought indeed, that escaped those tempests which followed.—Leaving behind him a daughter, and wife; his honour not stained—his fame not touched, his friends and allies in flourishing state. For, as in our hearing, he wished and hoped to live and last to the light of this most blessed age, and see Trajan established prince, so his hastened death had this great comfort, that he lived not to see

that last and miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons, and by fits, but with a continual course, and at one blow, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola lived not to see—the Senate-house beset—the Senate environed with soldiers, and all in one fury; the death also of so many consular personages, the banishments and flights of so many great women. Carus Metius had obtained, as yet, but one conquest, and Messalanus' bloody sentences kept themselves within the manor of Alba, and Massa Bebias himself was then called in question.

" Anon, after our hands led Heluidius into prison; the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus, pierced our hearts. Senecio besprinkled us with his guiltless blood. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanding cruelties—looked not on. The principal part of our miseries under Domitian, was to see and be seen; when our secret sighs were registered, when the cruel countenance, and red visage, with which he armed himself against blushing and shame, could endure to note, and mark the fears, and paleness, of so many persons. Thrice happy then mayest thou Agricola be counted, not only for the renown of thy life—but also for the opportunity of thy decease. Thou didest, (as they do affirm, which were present at thy last speeches), accept thy death, most patiently, and willingly, as though, for thy part, thou wouldest have cleared the prince. But I, and thy daughter,

besides the loss of so dear a father, we have a further cause to be grieved, that it was not our chance to be with thee in thy sickness, to cherish thy weakness, to satisfy and content ourselves with seeing and embracing thee.—Some counsel no doubt, and some precepts we should have received in charge, to point and engrave on our hearts: this is our grief, this our special misfortune: to us, in respect of our long absence, four years before thou wast lost.—And albeit, thy loving wife, the best of all mothers, sat by, and furnished (no doubt) all things in most honourable sort, yet wast thou laid up, with fewer tears; and, at thy last hour, thine eyes missed somewhat. If there be any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wise men desire, the souls of great persons die not, with their bodies,—in peace mayest thou rest, and recall us thy posterity, from impatient and womanish wailings, to the contemplation of thy virtues; which are in no sort to be sorrowed for, or bewailed—but rather to be admired. This is true honour indeed, and this is the duty of nearest kinsfolks. So I would counsel thy daughter, and thy wife, to reverence the memory of their father and husband, with often remembering his doings, and his words, recognising the glory and image of his mind, rather than that of his body: Not that I dislike of images cut in marble, or metal, but as men's faces—so the images of their faces are mortal and frail: the shape of the mind

is eternal, which we may represent and express, not by matter and art, borrowed abroad, but by our own manners within. That of Agricola, which we did love, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remain, in the minds of men, in the continual succession of ages, in fame and renown.—For many of the ancients shall lie buried in obscure and inglorious oblivion; but Agricola shall live recommended to posterity, and continue for ever."

An account of the death of so great a tyrant as the Emperor Domitian was, may (in this place) be acceptable—as the latter end of bad men most generally convey the best moral lesson which can be contemplated.

From Speed.

"The life of Domitian was now grown unreasonably vain. He caused his statue to be made in gold, and commanded himself to be called God. His cruelty every where matchable to his pride. The senator and nobles, upon small surmises, he murdered; and many new tortures he invented; confiscations and banishments were favours, not punishments. Among which the Christians bore a part, whose second persecution this tyrant raised

and began. The great Evangelist, St. John, he banished into the Isle of Patmos, where he received his Revelations from Jesus Christ, appearing unto him, in no less majesty, than Daniel before time had seen him in his visions: and both after a sort, in one and the same manner. For as Daniel saw a lion, bear, leopard, and monster with ten horns, persecute the Jews, God's people, and to fall beneath the stone, cut without hands, which brake into powder the image of their tyranical government, to give place to the peaceable birth and kingdom of Christ. So John saw one beast, compacted of these four, mouthed like a lion, footed like a bear, spotted as the leopard, and horned for number and power with the monster, retaining their tyranny against the Church of Christ, in raising persecutions, and clouding with idolatry the brightness of his word, which beast shall be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, &c. &c.

"And in these courses Domitian continued so long, that lastly he grew odious to all, even his nearest friends and followers, which himself had raised, who, together with his wife, conspired his death. The chiefest in this action was Stephen a procurator, and steward to Domicilla, his empress; who, feigning himself lame of the left arm, in delivering him a scroll, containing the names of the conspirators, struck him in the belly with his sword, and the rest coming in, with seven wounds,

made an end of his life: whose death was so acceptable to the Senate, that they disgracefully abused his carcase, cast down his scutcheons and images, and forbad all manner remembrance of him. Albeit, some of the soldiers as much stormed, seeking to revenge his death, and canonizing him for a God.

"Of stature he was tall, his complexion fair, his countenance modest, his head very bald, his eyes red, full, great, and dim; of a comely form, only his belly bearing out, his legs small, and his foot somewhat short. He died the eighteenth day of September, aged forty-five, when he had reigned fifteen years—the year of our Lord's incarnation, ninety years: with whom, both Suetonius and Tacitus end their history."

The Edict of Antonius, for the Protection of the Christians. Cambden.

"The Emperor Cæsar Marius, Aurulius, Antonius, Augustus, Arminicus, Pontifex Maximus, fifteen times Tribune, thrice Consul, unto the Commons of Asia—sendeth greeting.

"I doubt not but the Gods themselves have a care that wicked persons shall be brought to light,

for it much more doth appertain unto them, than it doth unto you, to punish such as refuse to yield them worship. But this course which you take, doth confirm them, whom you persecute, in this their opinion of you, that you are impious men, and mere Atheists: whereby it cometh to pass that they desire in the quarrel of their God, rather to die, than to yield to the wills of such as you are, and to embrace the form of your religion. Let it not seem unreasonable, to call to your remembrance the earthquakes, which lately happened, and which yet are, to your great terror and grief; because I understand, that in such like accidents, you cast the envy of such common misfortunes on their shoulders, whereby their confidence and trust in their God is much the more increased; whereas you be still ignorant of the true causes of such things, do both neglect the worship of the other Gods, and also banish and persecute the service of the immortal God; whom the Christians do worship, and you persecute to the death, all the embracers of that profession. In the behalf of these men, many of the provincial Presidents have written before, unto our father of famous memory, to whom he answered, that they should not be molested, unless they were proved to have practised treason against the Imperial state: and touching the same matter, some have given notice unto me, to whom I have answered with like moderation that my father did

before. And by this our edict do we ordain, that if any hereafter be found thus busy in molesting these kind of men, without any their offence, we command that he, who is accused upon this point, be absolved; albeit, he be proved to be such a man as he is charged to be, that is, a Christian; and he that is his accuser shall suffer the same punishment which he sought to procure upon the other."

"This mild and liberal edict was promulgated at Ephesus, in the general counsel of all Asia, so favourable was this good Emperor to the true professors, and indeed to all sorts of men, having that apothegme of Scipio Africanius's wife in his mouth, 'that he would rather save one subject's life than kill a thousand enemies.'

"This Emperor was of stature tall, of a seemly presence, in countenance majestical, in manners mild, of a singular wit, very learned and eloquent, and a great lover of husbandry; peaceable, merciful, and bounteous: in the last of which virtues he so much exceeded, that thereby he set going wholly his own private estate and demeans—whereat, when his Empress much repined, he told her, that when he undertook the title and state of an Emperor, he then did forego the interest and properties of a private person. He died of a fever the 7th of March, the year of his life 75, and of Christ 162."

An account of the Profusion and Extravagance of Heliogabilis, the Roman Emperor. From Speed.

" His apparel was rich, and most extremely costly, and yet could never wear one garment twice: his shoes embellished with pearls and diamonds, his seats bestrewed with musk and amber, his bed covered with gold and purple, and beset with the most costly pearls and jewels: his way strewed with powder of gold: his lamps burning with no other oils than the balms of India and Arabia: his fish ponds filled with no other water then of distilled roses: his ships in his numachies, or sea fights, floated in a river of wine: his baths most costly built, and again, after they were once used, presently plucked down: his plate of finest gold, but never served twice at his table: his rings and jewels most rich, but never worn twice: his concubines many and changeable, but never one seen by him twice. His diet so profuse, that at every supper in his court was usually spent a thousand pounds sterling. Inviting the chief citizens to a feast, he strewed all the rooms with saffron, as it were with rushes, saying, 'that such cattle were worthy such costly litter.' Near the sea, with him was no fish eat; and in the land, no flesh: whole meals were made of the tongues of singing birds and peacocks, or of the brains of the

most costly creatures, always saying, 'that meat was not savoury whose sauce was not costly.'—And indeed so costly was his sauce, that the revenues of Germany, France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Sicilia, Grecia, Asia, Assyria, Egypt, Arabia, and all the islands, were not sufficient to defray the charges of it."

A very scarce and curious copy from Gildas (called the Mournful Historian), of the last application of the Brittains and the Romans for assistance and protection, called "the groans of the Brittains;" their further application to the Saxons for the same purpose; and his own remarks and lamentations on that occasion. This historian lived about the time he records with so much pathos and feeling, and is frequently quoted by succeeding historians. This account is put at full, as the style and language is interesting and pathetic, and the circumstances worthy of much consideration, and requisite to be well known by the readers of English history.

"As soon as the Romans had left Brittain, and were returning unto their home, forthwith hideous multitudes of Scots and Picts came swarming

out of their carroghes, wherein they passed the Sictick* Vale, like whole armies of duskish vermine, which at high noon, when the sun is in its greatest heat, began to crawl forth of their narrow holes, an infinite number of hideous Scots and Picts, which two kinds of people, though in condition somewhat different, yet they consorted but too well in greedy desire of bloodshed. And having intelligence the associates of Brittain were now returned, with utter disclaim of further assistance; with more confident boldness than ever before, they sieze all the northern and uttermost parts of the island, as if it had been their own inheritance; even as far, as to the wall. Against these attempts, there were ranged in the high forts along the wall, garrisons of soldiers, but such as were both slothful, and also unserviceable for martial affairs: which white livered lougels, with quaking hearts, sat still warding day and night, till their joints were as benumbed, and as stuped, as the stones whereon they sat; insomuch, as the naked enemies did, with long hooked engines, pluck from off the wall those miserable warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. This good yet they got, by their untimely deaths, that being thus suddenly dispatched out of the world, they escaped the imminent, lamentable calamities, that their brethren and children shortly after felt.

* Irish sea.

To be short, having abandoned their cities, and this high defensive wall, once more they took themselves to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then ever before. For the enemy was more hot in pursuit, and more cruel in the slaughter; the woeful inhabitants being by their enemies massacred, and rent in pieces like lambs in the hands of bloody butchers, or in the jaws of cruel and savage beasts.

"In these most miserable times (necessity so compelling), the poor distressed people forbore not to rob each other of that sustenance which could help them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were encreased by their domestic vexations; for that the whole country, by these continual dareptions, was utterly deprived of the staff of food, having nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got by hunting.—Whereupon, about the 39th year of Theodosius, and of Christ four hundred and forty-six, the distressed remains of the downcast Brittains, addressed their missive letters to Attius, President of Gallia, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed—

"*To Attius, thrice Consul, the Groanes of the Brittains.*

"The Barbarians drive us back to the sea—the sea again putteth us back upon the Barbarians: thus, between two kinds of deaths, we are

either slaughtered or drowned. We are the remnants that survive of the Brittains, and are your subjects: who, besides the enemy, are afflicted by famine and mortality, which at this present extreemly rageth in the land."

(Gildas then goes on and recounts their application to the Saxons, after failing in their expected relief from the Romans, in these words.)

"Therefore, hearing of the brave, worthy, and fortunate exploits atchieved by the Saxons, they sent in humble embassage to require their aid, and these having audience, spake as follows—

"Most noble Saxons—the poor and distressed Brets, outworn and tired, by the many incursions of their enemies, and hearing the fame of those victories which you have most valiantly obtained, have sent us supplicants unto you, craving that you would not deny them your help and succour. A large and spacious land they have, plentiful and abundant in all things, which we yield wholly to be at your devotion and command. Hitherto we have lived freely, under the patronage and protection of the Romans; next unto whom, we know not any more powerful than yourselves: and therefore we seek for refuge, under the wings of your valour. So that we may, by your puissance, be superior of our enemies: whatsoever service ye shall impose upon us, that will we willingly abide."

"To this petition, the peers and nobles of the Saxons briefly made answer in this wise—

"Know ye, that the Saxons will be fast friends unto the Brets, and ready at all times to assist them in their necessity, and also to procure their wealth. With joy, therefore, return ye ambassadors, and with this wished for intelligence make your countrymen glad."

"Hereupon (according to promise), an army was sent into Brittain, and joyfully received, which in short time freed the land from the spoiling enemies, and recovered the country unto the behoof of the inhabitants.

"To repress (continueth Gildas) many invasions of this their ancient enemies, which with cruel slaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Brittains fell to consult upon some convenient course therein to be taken. Lastly, all the Councellors, being blinded in judgement, devised such a protection, as in the end proved their countries' destruction: namely, that those fierce Saxons, a people savage and of hateful name, odious both to God and man, should be let into the island, as it were wolves into the sheep-folds, to repulse (forsooth) the northern nations: then which project, doubtless, nothing was ever more pernicious and unhappy unto this land. Oh sences, scenceless and plunged into deepest mists of error, desperate blindness, and blind blockishness of mind! Those who in absence were feared, even

more than death, now of their own accord are invited by these Princes of Egypt (if I may so say, thus sottishly consulting their Pharoah) to come, and rest with under one roof. Presently out of the den of that barbarous lioness rushed forth a kennel of her whelps, in three long vessels, called in their language Cynlea*, carried under full sail, and ominous presages fore prophescying, that for three hundred years they should possess that land, unto which they then directed their course; and for half of that space, one hundred and fifty years, they should waste and depopulate the same. These being put on shore, first in the east part of the island, and that by commandment of the unfortunate tyrant†, there set fast their terrible paws, pretending to the islanders the defence of their country, but more truly intending the destruction thereof. The foresaid lioness, finding that her first troop of whelps sped so well, sends again a greater rabble of the same litter, which here arrived in flotes, bringing with them some other associates of bastardly and unnoble blood. And these beginnings, the slips of iniquity, and the roots of bitterness (an accursed plantation, well befitting our demerits) have sprung up, and put forth in our soil their haughty boughs and spreading branches. This barbarous nation, thus admitted, professing themselves our soldiers, and

* Keelas. † Vortigern.

such as would endure all hazards (so they feigned) in defence of their good hosts: first they craved supply of victuals only, which being given them for some time stopped (as we may say) the dog's mouth: howbeit, they afterwards complain that their wages were not bountifully enough paid, devising of purpose colourable occasion of quarrel, and threatening, that unless they might have magnificent entertainment, they would, with the breach of covenant, spoil and waste the whole island. And, without further delay, they second these threats with deeds, (for our sins the cause of deferred revenge was still nourished), and the fire kindled eastward, was set a flaming by these sacriligious men, from sea to sea, and ceasing not to consume all the cities and countries bordering thereabout, until such time, as, burning well near all the inland soil of the island, it licked (as it were) with the red tongue of the same, the very western ocean itself. In this violent invasion, comparable to that of the Assirians against the land of Israel in old times—is historically fulfilled also in us, that which the Prophet, by sorrowful lamentation, uttereth: 'They have set fire upon thy holy places, and have burnt the dwelling place of thy name even unto the ground;' and again, 'Oh God, the heathens are come into thy heritage, thy holy temple have they defiled,' for all the fortifications demolished with their engines,

and the inhabitants, together with the bishops of the church, and also the priests and people, with glittering swords, and crackling flames, were all at once laid along upon the ground; yea, and (which was a most lamentable spectacle) the stately towers, the high mounted walls, and the sacred altars, lay all tumbled together, all purpled with the broken and bloody quarters, and gored carcases, mixed as in a horrible wine press. Neither were there any other sepulchres abroad, save the ruins of buildings, and the bowels of wild beasts and birds.'

"During this most woeful, desperate, and tempestuous season, (continues the mournful historian), some poor remains of Brittain being found in the mountains, were slain by whole heaps, others, pined by famine, came and yielded themselves unto their enemies, upon condition to serve them as bond slaves for ever, so they might not be slaughtered out of hand; which granted, was reputed a most high and special grace: others went over seas into strange lands, singing under their spread sails, with a lamentable and mournful note, that of the Psalmist—'Thou hast given us, O Lord, as sheep, to be devoured, and has scattered us among the heathen.' Yet others remained still in their own country; albeit in fearful estate, and continually suspecting hazard, committing their lives and safety to the high steep

hills, to craggy mountains, naturally entrenched, to thick grown woods and forests, yea, and to the rocks of the sea.

"Thus was Brittain brought to the period of her glory, and the people miserably subjected to a foreign nation, about the year from Christ's nativity four hundred and seventy-three, and after the Romans' last farewell twenty-eight years, in which time you see they were most cruelly pursued with all calamities of war, and lastly betrayed by them in whom so much trust was reposed; as mournful Gildas thus ruefully declareth."

The introduction of Rowena, the beautiful Saxon Princess, to King Vortigern—with an account of the Treachery of the Saxons, &c. From William of Malmsbury.*

"Hengest, that by the gift of Vortigern had got the whole possession of Kent, sent for more supplies of Saxons unto his aid, pretending em-

* From the venerable Beda.—"The riches of Brittain, and the fertility of the soil, were such motives to the covetous, and aspiring minds of the Saxons; and where they got footing there they kept standing, and picked occasion where they were too strong."

ployment of their service in other parts, but indeed to make strong his own designs: and these swarming daily over into Brittain, got the strength of munition and command of military affairs, without impeach: for the king Vortigern holding himself now sure from all interruptions, gave his immoderate senses scope, to nourish more freely their sensual pleasures, and committed more audaciously those vices unto which his own corrupt nature was naturally addicted. This Hengest soon perceived, and, to add more matter for the flame, fed still the humours of this vicious king; outwardly shewing his care and readiness for the land's defence, his counsel and love to the nobles in estate, and his courteous carriage to the commons in general; but to the king, an overseeing diligence and servile obedience; by all of which, ere it was long, he gave fire to the mine that blew up the foundations of the British policy.

"For feasting the king in the castle of Tonng*, he commanded his daughter, a lady of passing beauty, to attend the banquet, whose excellent features, and seemly behaviour, blew the sparks of desire so right into Vortigern's wanton eye, that they presently kindled a flame in his lasci-

* Hengest obtained from king Vortigern as much ground (for a gift) as he could enclose with a bull's hide, which cutting into throngs, he built the castle, called from thence Throng's Castle.

vious heart: for in the midst of his cups Rowena (so was the damsel called), with a low reverence and pleasing grace, saluted the king with a cup of gold, full of sweet wine, incharming it with these words, in her language,—'Waes heal hiapopb cyning,'—which is in English, 'be of health Lord King;' he demanding the meaning, would be taught to answer her, to her own understanding, and said (from instruction) 'Drinc heal,' that is, 'drink health,' whereof when he had pledged her (as we speak), this bowl infected his senses, with no less sottishness, than that of Belus is said to do Dido, when Cupid placed the child Ascanius betwixt Eneas and her; and brought more bale to the land, then afterwards did that which was presented to King John at Swinsted Abbey, by Simon the poisoning monk. For notwithstanding that Vortigern had a queen then living—himself not young, having sons at man's estate, in profession a Christian, whose religion alloweth neither polygamy nor adultery, did nevertheless importunate Hengest that Rowena might be his wife: which at first, with some shew of excuse and unworthyness of person for so high a grace, was denyed; but lastly consented unto, and the nuptials performed. And now fortune casting occasion daily into Hengest's lap, he gave his aspiring thoughts no rest, till he had got the crown from Vortigern's head, and seized all under the Saxon power.

"This Hengest was doubtless a prince of the chiefest blood and nobility of the Saxons, and by birth of Angria in Westphalia, wherein unto this day a place retaineth his name, being called Hengsten Holt, &c. &c.

"He being now grown into high favour with the king, by the marriage of Rowena, and feared of the nobility for his strength and policy, bare himself great amongst them all, for his supplies daily arriving, pestered, if not plagued, most parts of this island. Amongst them that were sent for, by the advice of Hengest, two principal captains, Octa and Ebissa, were chiefest, who being embarked in forty pinnances, sailed about the Picts' coast, washing the isles which were called the Orcades, and got many countries from them beyond the Frith: whereby a further terror was stricken into the Brittish hearts.

"The nobility perceiving what was working, and the mark whereat Hengest set his eyes to aim, complained to the king of their dangerous estate, shewing themselves to be agrieved to be dispossessed of offices and charges, the land pestered with strangers, that sought their subversion, reproving him much for his match with the infidel Rowena, his own careless government, and adulterous life, and in such manner that Vodine, archbishop of London, a man of great sanctity, feared not to tell him, that thereby he had endangered both his soul and his crown: which words by

Vortigern were so digested, that shortly it cost the good archbishop his life. But he still continuing in his lascivious and careless idleness, was lastly taught, by woeful experience, what misery wilful rashness and neglected government do bring: for the Brittains, his subjects, no longer would be thus abused, to see themselves woven into greater danger, by shew of defence, then they formerly had been by the hostility of the enemy; but forthwith disclaimed their obedience to the king, and chose for their Governor his son, young Vortimer.

"His son he was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (besides the quarrel of his queen mother, for Rowena's sake rejected) bare an inward love for his native country, and an outward hate to the strangers that daily sought the subversion thereof, and presently encountered them in a pitched battle near unto Ailsford in Kent, wherein Catigern and Horsa, brothers unto Vortimer and Hengest, in single fight, hand to hand, slew each other.

"In which place Catigern was buried, and a monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof to this day appear, and stand upon a great plain, in the parish of Ailsford, and, from Catigern, is, as yet, corruptly called Cits-Cotihouse. The like monument the Saxons built for Horsa, which time hath now defaced, and whereof Beda maketh mention, saying, that a tomb

bearing his name was, in his days, to be seen in the east parts of Kent; the credit whereof is continued to this day: where the village Horsted is reported to have received that name from him, which standeth in the very same place where that battle was fought, as the inhabitants report.—Three other battles after this, with variable success, was fought betwixt the Brittains and the Saxons, in which last the Brittains bare themselves so valiantly, that the Saxons were driven into the Isle of Thanet (if not over the seas), so that small hope rested for them, so long as this valiant Vortimer lived, who had dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in Thanet. After this victory, long he lived not, but was made away by poison, through the means of Rowena, the mother of all this mischief; when he had sat king the space of four years: when the father was again established.

"Vortigern was no sooner restored, but that Hengest had notice thereof, who was then building a castle in Leyden, in Holland; where leaving all (as it were) at random, he returned to follow his fortunes further in Brittain, and, with a mighty army of his Saxons, thought to land without impeachment; but the Brittains, grown bold by their former victories, and their blood not cool, since it was heat in fight, admonished their re-established king, who with them went to withstand his arrivage. When Hengest, therefore,

perceived their courage, and knew their hatred to him and his Saxons, he sought by smooth words to gain the shore; and by some stratagem his wished desire; therefore pretending only to visit his daughter, yea, and to rid the land of her, if so he might have leave of the king and them.

"This motion seemed reasonable to the nobility, and the place and time appointed, which was the first of May, upon the plains of Ambrij, now called Salisbury, whither upon equal terms (as it was thought) each party repaired, and for a while conferred with friendly semblances; but, in the end, the Saxons urging their wrongs, fell from words unto blows, the watch word first given by Hengest their leader. The Brittains meant simply, and wore no weapons, according to covenant, but the Saxons, under their long cassocks, had short skeins hid, with which no sooner the words 'Nem Cour Seaxes' were pronounced, but that each slew him with whom he conferred, by which treason the Brittains lost three hundred of their disarmed nobility, only Eldoll, duke of Gloucester, with a stake gotten from an hedge, slew seventeen Saxons. The king they took prisoner, for whose ransom the counties of Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, were delivered unto these infidels: who shortly defiled the beauties of Christianity with their paganism and heathenish cruelties.'

"And these are the times whereof we spake,

and wherein the miserable Brittains abandoned the land, or hid themselves in caves, wherein they either perished by hunger, or redeemed their lives by perpetual slavery."

A description of Stonehenge, supposed to be erected by Aurelius Ambrosius.—A. D. 466. From Geofrey of Monmouth.

"Unto this Aurelius is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument now called Stonehenge, standing in the same place where the Brittains had been treacherously slaughtered by the Saxons, and there interred, whose manner and form we will here insert. The matter, being stones of a great and huge bigness, so that some of them contain twelve ton in weight, and twenty-eight foot or more in length, their breadth seven, and compass sixteen. These are set in the ground, of a good depth, and stand in a round circle of two by two, having a third stone somewhat of less quantity, laid gate wise overthwart on their tops, fastened with tenons and mortasses, the one into the other; which to some seem so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed under,

the rather for that many of them are fallen down, and the rest suspended of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such fear, nor uncertainty in accounting their numbers, as it is said to be. The stones are grey, but not marble, wherein great holes are beaten even by force of weather, that serve for ravens and other birds to build in, and bring forth their young.

"The ground plot containeth about three hundred foot in compass, in form almost round, or rather like unto a horse shoe, with an entrance in upon the east side. Three rows of stones seem formerly to have been pitched, the largest outward, the least inward; many whereof are now fallen down, but those which stand shew so fair an aspect, and so far off, that they seem to the beholders to be some fortress or strong castle; a trench also is about them, which hath been much deepened; and, upon the plains adjoining, many round copped hills, without any such trench, as it were cast up out of the earth, stand like great hay-cocks in a plain meadow. In these and thereabouts, by diging, have been found pieces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus covered with earth, that was brought thither by their well willers and friends, even in their head pieces; a token of love that was then used, as some imagine.

"This trophy Aurelius Ambrosius, in memorial of the Brittains' massacre, erected, and is worthily accounted for one of the wonders of this island, and are in the verses of Alexander Necham called 'the Giant's dance,' wherein this Ambrosius was interred, and whereof the town of Amesbury bears his name. Others report, that the Brittains erected this most stately sepulchre over the body of Ambrosius, there slain by the swords of his enemies: that his countries' love, in such a costly piece of work, might remain unto posterity in this the altar of his virtue and manhood, &c. &c.

"I cannot in silence pass over the ridiculous reports, of the bringing the stones out of Africk into Ireland, and from thence, under the conduct of Uper, the brother of Ambrosius, unto this plain of Salisbury, by the industrious means of Merlin, the magician, who, for his wonderful skill in the mathematics, and extraordinary knowledge in all other kinds of learning, was, by the rude common people, reputed to be the son of an Incubus or male devil."

This very ancient account of Stonehenge, will, it is presumed, be found acceptable, not only to

the antiquary, but to every other person who has visited the spot, or who may feel interested about it—as it appears a very accurate and satisfactory detail of its situation, appearance, and probable [illegible] or its erection.

An account of the finding the Bones of the famous King Authur, and his beautiful Queen Gunever, by the order of Henry the Second—dug for the purpose of discovering the exact place of their burial, or any further particulars concerning them, which might result from such an investigation.

"When Henry the Second, and first Plantagenet, had swayed the English sceptre to the last of his reign, it chanced him at Pembroke, to hear sung to the harp, certain ditties of the worthy exploits and acts of this Authur, by a Welsh bard, as they were termed, and whose custom was to record the noble deeds of their ancestors, wherein mention was made of his death, and the place of burial, designing it to be in the church yard of Glassenbury, and that betwixt two pyramids therein standing: whereupon King Henry caused the ground to be diged, and, at seven foot deep,

was found a huge broad stone, wherein a leaden cross was fastened, and in that side, that lay downward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely set and contrived), this inscription written upon that side of the lead that was towards the stone, in Latin, but thus translated—

'Here lyeth King Authur, buried in the Isle of Analonia.'

And diging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunk of an old tree, the bones of great bigness, and in his scull perceived ten wounds, the last very great and plainly seen. His queen Gunever, that had been near kinswoman to Cudor, duke of Cornwall, a lady of passing and surprizing beauty, lay likewise by him, whose tresses of hair, finely platted, and in colour like unto gold, seemed perfect and whole, untill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) shewed itself to be dust. Giraldus Cambrensis, a worthy author, and an eye witness, is the reporter of this finding of Authur's bones, and the cross of lead, with the inscription as it was found and taken off the stone, was kept in the treasury or register of Glassenbury church, till the suppression thereof in the reign of King Henry the Eight.

"The bones of King Authur, and of Queen Gunever his wife, by the direction of Henry de Bloys, nephew to King Henry the Second, and abbot of Glassenbury at that present, were translated into the great new church, and there, in a

fair tomb of marble, his body was laid, and his queen's at his feet, which noble monument, among the fatal overthrows of many more, was altogether razed at the dispose of some men, then in commission; whose too forward zeal, and over hasty actions in these behalfs, hath left unto us a want of many truths; and cause to wish, that some of their employments had been better spent." *Speed.*

(The same in continuance.)

"Of Authur's success both at home and abroad, his great magnificence in court and country, his banners, and four golden swords borne before him, his round table, and challenges of martial honour; let Monmouth the writer, Newbery the register, and declared the maintainer, be heard from me. But certain it is, by the reports of Malmesbury, that Authur was a prince, more worthy to be advanced by the truth of record, in warrantable credit, than by fables, scandalized with poetical fictions, and hyperbolical falsehoods; and lamentable it is, that the fame of this puissant prince had not been sounded by a more certain trumpet; for to say the truth of his writers*, even in a word, he was well skilled in antiquities of

* Geffrey ap Authur, a monk of Monmouth.

traditions, but (as it seemeth) not of any ancient credit, so many toys and tales he every where interlaceth out of his own brain, wherewith he was charged whilst himself lived, insomuch, as he is now ranked amongst those writers whom the Roman church hath censured to be forbidden."

Copy of a threatening letter sent by King Authur to Rome, in which he not only denies them tribute, but declares his intention of having a tribute from Rome, for, by his natural descent from the Romans, he conceived it his right; for in his letters to that end, sent unto the Senate, thus, in an old manuscript*, we find it indited thus—

"Understand, among you of Rome, that I am King Authur of Brittaine, and freely it hold, and shall hold; and at Rome hastily will I be, not to give you truage, but to have truage of you; for Constantine, that was Helen's son, and others of mine ancestors, conquered Rome, and whereof were Emperors. And that they had, and held, I shall have. Yours. God's grace."

* Nameless old manuscript.

The invectives of Gildas, the Mournful Historian, against the Kings of his time;—against Constantine, cousin and successor of Authur, for killing two fugitive competitors for the crown, the one in the Sanctuary of London, the other at Winchester, near unto the altar;—and of Vortiporiu, who suffered not this king to pass untouched by his lamentable passions. (Gildas was a priest who flourished in those days, who, in his writings, thus expresseth his anger)—A. D. 542.

"Brittaine hath Kings, but they are tyrants: Judges it hath, but they are wicked, pillaging and harming the innocent people; revenging and defending—but whom? such as be guilty, and robbers. They have wives, yet break they wedlock; many times swearing, yet ever perjure themselves; vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; warning, but still maintaining unjust and civil broils; abroad pursuing thieves, and yet at home cherishing them, even at their own tables, and sometimes also reward them.—They give very great alms indeed, yet heap they up sins as high as the mountains. They sit in the seat of sentence, yet seldom seek the vale of right justice or judgement, despising the humble and innocent persons, and extolling to the heaven

proud and bloody murderers, thieves, and adulterers, yea, and if he would permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keep in prison and load them with irons, more to serve their own purpose, then for any guilt in the person; taking solemn oaths before and upon the altars, and yet despise they the altars, as altogether vile, and but filthy stones.

"Of this heinous and wicked offence Constantine, the tyrannical whelp of the lioness of Devonshire, is not ignorant: who this year, after the receiving of his dreadful oath, whereby he bound himself, that in no wish he should hurt his subjects, (God first and then his oath, with the company of saints and his own mother being present), did, notwithstanding, in the reverend laps of his mother, the Church, and of her by nature, and that under the vesture of an holy abbot, devour with sword and spear, instead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrails of two royal children, of noble and kingly race, and likewise of their two Governours; yea, and that (as I said) before the sacred altars. The arms of which persons so slain, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons, (which few in those days handled more valiantly then they did), but stretched out to God, and to his altar: in the day of judgement shall set up the reverend ensigns of their patience and faith, at the gates of the city of Christ, which so have covered the seat of the celestial sacrifice,

as it were, with the red mantle of their clotted blood.

"These things he did not after any good deeds done by him deserving praise: for many years before, overcome with the often and changeable filths of adultery, and forsaking his lawful wife, (contrary to the laws of God), and not being loosed from the snares of his former sins, he encreased both the new and the old."

Thus far goes the severity of Gildas to Constantine, (who dying soon after was buried at Stonehenge). And, in the same strain of censure, he continues his reprehensions to Vortiporus—which are selected for the boldness of the reproof, the fluency of expression, and the just principles of virtue and morality conveyed by this writer in the different extracts introduced in this work from his writings.

"And thou, Vortiporus, the tyrant of South Wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickedness, diversly spotted, as it were with many colours, with thy hoary head in the throne, full of deceits, crafts, and wiles, and defiled even from the lowest part of thy body to the crown of thy head, with divers and sundry murders committed on thine own men: and filthy adulteries, thus

proving the unworthy son of a good king, as Manasses was to Ezechias: How chanceth it, that the violent streams of sin, which thou swalloweth up like pleasant wine, or rather art swallowed up by them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing near), cannot yet satisfy thee?—What meanest thou, that fornications, of all evils as it were the full heap, thine own wife being put away by her death, which thou wroughtest, doest oppress thy soul with a certain burden that cannot be avoided?"

Particulars of St. Augustine (or Austin's) conversion of King Ethelbert; of the founding his Monastry at Canterbury; and of the symptoms of humility required in a Professor of Christianity, recommended to the observation of proselytes, by a venerable Anchorite. The following interesting extracts are from the venerable Beda—A. D. 396.

"By express order of the Pope, Austin a monk, with forty other his assistants, whereof Miletus, Justus, and John, were chief. These landing in Thanet, had immediate access unto the presence of King Ethelbert—but yet in the open fields, for

he feared to confer with them in any house, least by sorcery (as he fondly surmised) he might be overcome.

"These preaching unto him the word of life, his answer was, that presently he could not consent to their doctrine, neither rashly forsake his ancient and accustomed religion. But seeing (said the king) you tell us strange things, and give us fair promises of after life, when this life shall be ended; we permit you to preach the same to our people, and to convert as many as you can, and we ourselves will minister all things behoveful for your livelihood.

"Which promise he instantly performed, and in Canterbury, his head city, allowed them fit places for residence, and sufficient provision for their maintenance, wherein those religious men immediately placed themselves.

"Near unto the east part of the city stood an ancient church, built by the Christian Romans, whilst they had dwelt in Brittaine, and by them dedicated to the honour of St. Martin, and is so yet called. To this church the Christian Queen Berta, with her communicants the French, daily resorted to pray; and unto these, and in this church, Austine and his followers began daily to preach: unto whose sermons so many Kentish people resorted, that a plentiful harvest appeared upon the seed plot of their tillage; for it is reported, that ten thousand of the English people were baptized there in one

day: insomuch, that the king himself forsook his heathenish idolatry, and likewise received the sacrament of baptism, in witness whereof he gave the lordship and royalty of his chief city of Canterbury unto Augustine, and resigned his princely palace therein unto him, who, in the east of this city, laid the foundation of that great and afterwards magnificent church, dedicated to the name and service of Christ, which at this day is the cathedral of that metropolitan see. And Ethelbert, to give him more room, withdrew himself unto Recolver, in Thanet, where he erected a palace for himself and his successors, the compass whereof may be traced by an old wall, whose ruins remain there yet to this day.

"Augustine thus seated, and in the well deserved favour of King Ethelbert, got one request more, which was this, that whereas by the law of the twelve tables, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walls of any city, (the practice whereof we daily find by monuments taken up in the fields adjoining), it would please him to give to that use, an old Idol Temple, standing without the east wall of the city, wherein the king himself had wontedly worshiped his idols. This obtained, and the church purged from that profane exercise, to the service of God, being honoured with the name of St. Pancras; King Ethelbert added thereunto a most fair monastry, built upon his own cost, and dedicated it unto the name of

Peter and Paul the Apostles, appointing it to be the place for the Kentish kings sepulchres; and Austine likewise meant it for the burials of his successors in that see. But first it became the monument of his own name, for, in regard to the procurer, both Pancras, Peter, and Paul, were soon swallowed up, and the whole called only by the name of Saint Austine's. In this place eight kings of Kent had their bodies interred, and ten of their archbishops therein laid, &c. &c.

"This monastry, as all the rest did, came to her final period, in the days of King Henry the Eighth, whose uncovered walls, stood so long languishing in time, and storms of weather, that daily encreased the aspect of her ruins, till now lastly they are made subject to other public uses, and the whole tract of that most goodly foundation in the same place no where appearing, only Ethelbert's Tower, in memory and honour of the man, as yet hath escaped the verdict and sentence of destruction, whose beauty, though much defaced and overworn, will witness to succeeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all stood compleated in their glory together, &c. &c.

"Austine, by the assistance and authority of King Ethelbert, called an assembly of the British bishops and doctors, who had retained the doctrine of the Gospel amongst them, even from the first plantation thereof by the Apostles themselves, to be holden in the borders of the Victians and

West Saxon, and at the place on that occasion called Augustine's Oak.* Thither resorted seven British bishops, and many other well-learned men, out of their greatest monastry at Bangor, where at that time Dinoth was abbot. These men, now ready to go to the appointed Synod, came first to a certain holy and wise man, which lived thereabout an anchorite's life, to ask his councel, whether they ought, at Austine's preaching and exhortation, leave their traditions or no: the anchorite replied, if he be a man of God follow him. But how shall we prove, say they, that he is a man of God? The anchorite answered, 'Our Lord sayeth, take ye on you my yoke, and learn ye of me, for I am mild and humble of heart.'—If, therefore, this Austine be mild and humble of heart, it is like that himself beareth the yoke of Christ, and will offer you the same to bear; but if he be curst and proud, it is certain that he is not of God—neither must we much esteem his words.' Then they enquired how they might know whether this Austine were proud or no?—'Provide,' quoth he, 'that he and his company may come first to the place of his synod and councel house, and if it be so, that when you approach near him, he arise courteously and salute ye, then think him to be the servant of Christ, and so hear him, and obey him. But if, when you

* Near Southampton, it is thought.

approach, he despise you, and will not vouchsafe to rise at your presence, which are the greater number, let him likewise by despised by you.' And truly saith he, for as this anchorite bid them so did they—for it happened, that when they came thither, Saint Austine was already set in his chair, and stirred not, which when they saw, forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeavoured to overthwart and gainsay whatsoever he proposed, and so the synod brake up, without any thing done."

Beda.

The early period of Christianity in which the events here recorded took place, gave rise to a variety of opinions concerning particular ceremonies, and points of religious observation; and much unpleasant controversy attended this diversity of ideas, on subjects of such general importance. The compiler of this work hath purposely avoided bringing forward any of these contested tenets, but yet shall not hold the work correct without introducing one specimen of that kind of disputation which so much agitated the primitive fathers of the church. The following, therefore, is selected for that purpose, and likewise for its

witty and happy termination; the origin of the debate was respecting the observance of Easter. A controversy on the celebration of this feast had continued for upwards of ninety years, and was at last concluded in the manner about to be related.

Extracted from the works of the venerable Beda.

"This variance made not only the people to doubt and fear, least bearing the name of Christians they did and had run in vain, as the Apostle speaketh; but also good King Oswy of Northumberland, and learned Prince Alkfryd, with Queen Eanfled, were much distracted and perplexed; for by the variance then in dispute, it often happened, that in one year two Easters were kept, for the King breaking up his fast, and solemnizing the feast, the Queen, with Prince Alkfryd, continued their fast, and kept that day their Palm Sunday. To conclude which contrariety, a synod purposely was called, and the question disputed by their best divines. The place was Stranshalch, or Whitby, whereof Hilda was abbess. The chief parties for and against the accustomed time of keeping that feast, were King Oswy and Prince Alkfryd his son. The disputants for Oswy and the established orders, were Coleman, archbishop of York, and his Scottish clergy; and Hilda, the virtuous and learned lady abbess of the place, for Alkfryd, the Queen, &c.; and the af-

tempted alterations, were Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, Wilfrid, abbot of Rippon, with James and Romanus, two learned men; and the reverend Cedda, newly consecrated bishop, appointed Prolocutor of the Assembly.

"The convocation set, King Oswy made a solemn oration, wherein he urged a necessity, that those people, who served one God, ought to celebrate his holy sacraments alike, and should keep one order and rule in the same, the truth of which service, and surcease of that long unchristian variance, for the christian celebration and time of Easter, was then presently by those learned men to be handled, and by best approvements to be decided; whereupon he requested their utmost endeavours, and to that purpose commanded his archbishop, Colman, first to speak: whereupon Colman, with reverence, stood up and said—

"'The Easter which I observe I received of my forefathers, of whom I was consecrated and sent hither for your bishop. They all (you know) were godly men, and observed the feast as we do now; neither think you they kept this tradition without sure warrant from greater then themselves, which was Saint John the Evangelist, and the disciple whom Jesus especially loved, who in the church, which he himself planted, celebrated the feast of Easter as we do now. Therefore, knowing the man so worthy, and the manner so

ancient, I hope you will confess it is not safe for us now to reject it.'

"Wilfrid, the declaimer, appointed to answer, now stood up and said—

"'The Easter which we observe we ourselves have seen observed in Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, preached, suffered, and are buried: and in our travels through France and Italy, either for study, or upon pilgrimage, we have seen the same order kept, and we know by relation that in Africk, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, nay, throughout all nations and tongues in the world where Christ hath his church, that this our time and order is observed. Shall then these obstinate Picts (I mean the Brittains), and these remote islands in the ocean sea (and yet not all of them neither), fondly contend in this point against the whole world?'

"But here Colman interrupted him and said—'I much marvel, brother, that you term our doings a fond contention, seeing we have for our warrant so worthy an Apostle as John was, who only leaned upon our Lord's breast, and whose life and behaviour all the world acknowledgeth to be most wise and discreet.'

"'God forbid,' said Wilfrid, 'that I should accuse John, but yet we know that he kept the decrees of Moses literally, and according to the Jewish laws; and so the rest of the Apostles were

constrained in some things to do, for the weakness of them, who accounted it a great sin to abrogate those rights which God himself had instituted; and for that cause, St. Paul did circumcise; Timothy offered bloody sacrifices in the Temple—shaved his head at Corinth, with Aquila and Prissilla, upon which consideration also spake James unto Paul, 'You see, brother, how many thousands of the Jews have received the faith, and yet all of these are zealous followers of the law? But the light of the Gospel now shineth through the world; it is not lawful for any Christian to be circumcised, or to offer up bloody sacrifices of beasts. St. John, therefore, according to the custom of the law, in the fourteenth day of the first month, at even, began the celebration of Easter's festivity, regardless whether it fell upon the Sabbath day or any other of the week. But Saint Peter, preaching the Gospel in Rome, remembering that our Lord arose from his grave the first day after the Sabbath, giving thereby unto us certain assurances of our resurrection, observed the feast of Easter, according to the commandment of that law he looked for, even as Saint John did, that is to say, the first Sabbath after, after the full moon of the first month.' Neither doth this new observation of the Gospel, and Apostle's practise, break the old law, but rather fulfilleth it; for the Lord commanded the feast of Passover to be kept from the fourteenth day of that month to the

twenty-one of the same, and this hath the Nicene Council, not newly decreed, but rather confirmed, as the Ecclesiastical History witnesseth, that this is the true observation of Easter, and of all Christians, after this account, to be celebrated.' And thereupon charged Bishop Colman, that he neither observed it according to John nor Peter.

"To this the Bishop replied, 'That Antholius, for his holiness much commended by the said Ecclesiastical History, and Columba, a father of like sanctity, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the feast according as he did then, from whose imitation he durst not digress.'

"'Your fathers which you pretend to follow, how holy so ever they be (said Wilfrid), and what miracles so ever they have wrought, yet this I answer, that, in the day of judgement, many shall say unto Christ, that they have prophecied, cast out devils, and wrought miracles in his name; to whom the Lord will answer, "I know ye not."—And if your father Columba (yea, and our father, if he be the true servant of Christ), were holy and mighty in miracles, yet can he by no means be preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, unto whom our Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

"This said, the King (in great surprize) asked

the Bishop Colman 'whether our Lord indeed spake thus unto Peter?' He answered, 'he did.' 'But can you (quoth the King) give evidence of so special authority granted to your father Columba?' The Bishop answered, 'no.' Then said the King, 'do you both agree confidently that these words were principally spoken unto Peter, and that unto him the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given?' They all answered, 'it is most certain.' Whereupon the King concluded this great controversy, and said—

"'Then will I not gainsay such a porter as this Peter is; but as far as I know, and am able, I will covet in all points to obey his ordinance, lest perhaps when I come to the doors of heaven, I find none to open unto me, having his displeasure, which is so clearly proved to bear the keys thereof.'

"And with this so simple a collection of King Oswy, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of Easter, and to the reconciliation of all parties to the time appointed by St. Peter."

ROYAL ANECDOTES.

Including many very entertaining and interesting particulars of the Saxon and Danish Princes; as also of great and celebrated men at that period of History—not so generally attended to, or perused as works of later date.

"Edwine, the great king of Northumberland, having lost his first wife, became suitor for the fair lady Ethelbury, daughter to Ethelbert, king of Kent, deceased, and sister to the king then reigning: whose ambassadors were answered, that it was not lawful for a Christian virgin to be espoused to a Pagan. But Edwine, hearing of the virgin's passing beauty, integrity, and piety, was so far over gone and ravished therewith, that he condescended she should retain her own Christian profession, and enjoy the Christian society both of her men and women, priests, and servants, her attendants, in his court. These covenants confirmed, the lady, accompanied by Paulinus, the reverend bishop, and an honourable retinue, came to King Edwine's court, and with great joy she was espoused his Queen.

"The greatness and prosperity of this Northumbrian Prince, was both feared by them afar off, that reigned in no such power, and beheld by his nearer with an envious eye; amongst whom Quinchelme, that reigned with his father, king over the West Saxons, sent a desperate ruffian, whose name was Eumerus, to murder Edwine the next year of his marriage, who repairing unto his Court, then resident near the river Derwent, at the place which is now called Aldeby in Yorkshire, with a double-edged short sword, the point thereof poisoned, and girt under his garment, upon Easter day entered his palace, as an ambassador, and with crafty speech retained the king's attention; where getting occasion, and steping forward, drew his sword—which one Lilla, the king's servant, saw, and wanting wherewith to defend the royal person, put himself betwixt the king and the sword, and through his body, so slain, the same was so far run that it dangerously wounded the king with his point. And with the same sword, before he could be beaten down by the guard, slew another servant, whose name was Fordhere.

"It happened the same night, being holy Easter Sunday, that Queen Ethelbury was brought to bed of a daughter, for joy whereof, and her safe deliverance, the king gave thanks to his idols; which Bishop Paulinus, then in presence, greatly re-

proved, and bad Edwine give thanks unto God, from whom all goodness came, and spake to him of our new birth in Christ: at which conference the king much rejoiced, and promised that for ever after he would renounce his idols, and worship that Christ whom he preached, if God would grant him his life from his wound, and victory against that king who had sent his man-queller to murder him; in pledge whereof he assigned Paulinus to baptize his daughter: the which upon the Whitsunday following was performed in her, by the name of Eanfled, and she the first of the Northumbrians which received that sacrament. At which time also Edwine being recovered of his wound so lately received, made an army, and marched forth against the West Saxons, and, in battle, either slew or took prisoners all that had conspired his death, and as a victorious conqueror returned to his country.

"Where continuing in honour, and his affairs prospering to his own desires, he was yet in mind distracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed what God he should worship. The sanctity of the Christians moved him much, and the ancient customs of his ancestors sat near his heart, betwixt whom there seemed a combat in himself. And in these dumps, sitting one day alone, it chanced Bishop Paulinus to have access to his presence, where laying his right hand upon the

king's head, demanded of him whether he remembered that sign: whereat Edwine suddenly fell at the bishop's feet, whom Paulinus in haste and reverence presently lifted up, and spake to him as followeth:

"'Behold, O Sovereign, (said he) by the bountiful hand and power of our God you have escaped the hand and vengeance of our most hated and dreadful enemy. Behold also, by his most gracious goodness you have obtained the sovereignty of reign and rule of a great kingdom. Remember now, therefore, the third thing which you promised him, and defer no longer to accomplish the same, by receiving his faith and keeping his commandments; who hath delivered you from your temporal adversities, and exalted you to the honour and majesty of a king; whose holy will, if you hereafter obey, and do his precepts, which by me is preached, he will also deliver you from the perpetual torment of hell: and make you partaker with him in his heavenly kingdom, and eternal bliss, without end.'

"This king, thus converted, was the founder of York Minster, and his converter Paulinus was the first archbishop of that cathedral—A. D. 627."

Beda.

Anecdote of Oswyn, another Northumbrian Prince, from Beda, who was treacherously killed —his description of which is here inserted, together with the little account of his charity and humility recorded by this venerable author.

"Oswy, king of Northumberland, surnamed the Wild, at the beginning of his reign, was much disturbed by many rebellions, and by the oppositions of Ethelwald; but no trouble sat so near his heart as Oswyn of the Dairians did, whose virtuous government did much dark (as he took it) his own, and the free love of those subjects, daily to lessen his amongst the Bernicians.

"This Oswyn was the son of Osricke (who did apostate from his faith), and ruling his province in plenty and peace the space of seven years, was therefore greatly envied by Oswy of Bernicia, and lastly by him provoked into the field. Their hosts met in a place then called Willfane Downs, ten miles west from the village Cataracton, and there attended to hazard the day. But Oswyn, finding himself too weak for Oswy, also to save the effusion of Christian blood, forsook the field, accompanied only with one soldier, and went to Earl Hundwald's, his friend, as he thought, to secure his life. But contrary to trust, he delivered

him up to King Oswy, who cruelly slew him, at the place called Ingethling; where afterwards, for satisfaction of so heinous an offence, a monastry was built, as upon like occasions many the like foundations were laid, whose stones were thus joined with the mortar of blood.

"Of this Oswyn (continues Beda) the following story is reported:—Amongst his other rare virtues and princely qualities his humility and passing lowliness excelleth: which is thus exemplified—The reverend Christian Bishop Adian, using much travel to preach the Gospel throughout that province, the king, for his more ease, gave him a goodly gelding, with rich and costly trappings. It chanced on a day, as the bishop rode to minister the word of life, that a poor man demanded his alms; but he not having wherewith to relieve him, and pitying his distressed poor estate, presently alighted, and gave unto him his horse and rich furniture. Whereof when the king heard, he blamed him, and said, 'What mean you, my Lord, to give to the beggar the horse that I gave to you, with my saddle and trappings? Had we no horses of a lower price to give to the poor?'

'"To whom the bishop replied, 'And is the brood of a beast more precious in your sight then this poor man, the child of God?'

"The king thus reproved, turned himself towards the fire, and there sadly pausing upon his

answer, gave him his sword, and in haste fell at the bishop's feet, desiring his forgiveness in what he had said. The bishop, much astonished, suddenly lift up the king, desiring him to sit at meat, and to be merry; which the king immediately did.

"But the bishop contrariwise began to be pensive and sad, and the tears to trickle down his cheeks, in which passion he burst out into these speeches, and said to his chaplain, in an unknown tongue, 'I never till this day have seen an humble and a charitable king, and surely his life cannot be long, for this people are not worthy to have such a noble prince reign over them.'"

(Oswy, who murdered Oswyn, was the founder of Litchfield Cathedral.)

Concerning Offa, and his Queen Quindred.

"Offa, cousin of King Ethelbald, succeeded him in his dominions of Mercia, a man of so high stomach, and stoutness of mind, that he thought nothing impossible for him to attain, and for vir-

tue and vice so equally composed, that hardly could be judged to whither of them the scale of his carriage most inclined. (Although the monk of St. Alban's, and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with superlative praises.)

" His parents were named Twinferth and Mercella, and himself is said to have been named Pincred, born both lame, deaf, and blind, wherein he so continued to his man's estate; the rage of Bernred (his adversary) had forced all three into a solitary place, where suddenly, by miracle, Pincred was restored to the use of his faculties, and for that cause called Offa, who then presently assailed, and in a great battle, manfully fought, slew the usurping Bernred, &c. &c.

" Offa was famous for the ditch which he caused to be drawn betwixt his and the Brittains borders, which work began at Basingwark in Flintshire, and North Wales, near the mouth of the Dee, and ran along the mountains into the south, and ended near Bristow, at the fall of Wye; the track whereof in many places is yet seen, and is called to this day Clawdh Offa, or Offa's ditch, &c. &c.

" At last, after his many wars and victories, with the spirit of humility, both to recall himself from the trace of blood, and to the better establishment of his kingdom's peace, he joined in affinity with the neighbouring princes, upon whom he bestowed his daughters in marriage.

" And making Egfrid his son a king with him-

self, in great devotion went to Rome, where, with the like zeal and example of Inas, the West Saxon, he made his kingdom subject to a tribute, then called Peter pence, afterwards Rom Scot; besides other rich gifts, which he gave to Hadrian, for canonizing Alban a Saint; in honour of whom, and in repentance of his sins, at his return (over-against Verolanium, in the place then called Holmchurst, where that Protomartyr of Brittaine for his constant profession of Christ lost his head) Offa built a magnificent monastry in Anno 795—endowing it with lands and rich revenues for the maintenance of an hundred monks, &c.

"Also, in testimony of his repentance for the blood he had spilt, he gave the tenth part of all his goods to the Churchmen and to the poor, and also founded another monastry at Bath, and in Warwickshire a church, which from him beareth the name of Off-Church.

"Finally, when he had reigned thirty-nine years, he died in peace, and with great solemnity his body was buried without the town of Bedford, in a chapel standing upon the banks of the Ouse, which long since was swallowed up by the said river, whose tomb of lead (as it were some phantastical thing) appeareth often unto them that seek it not, but to them that seek it is altogether invisible.

"Quindred, the wife of King Offa, hath not her parentage mentioned by any writer, though

some suppose her name was Dryda, and that she was the near kinswoman to Charles the Great, King of France; and by him, for some offence committed, banished his realm; who, arriving upon the coast of England, in a ship without tackel, was taken thence, and relieved by Offa, then a young nobleman, where she changed her name unto Pretronilla, with whom he fell so far in love, that he made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his parents. She was a woman of condition, ambitious, covetous, and cruel, as appeared especially in the death of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, that came to her husband's court to marry their daughter, whose port she so much envied, that she procured him to be treacherously murdered; the manner of which was declared to be, by his fall into a deep pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber, and under his chair of estate. —That his head was cut off, and found by a blind man:—that the well which bears his name sprang up presently, in the place where it lay:—that the blood thereof gave the blind man his sight; and that Dryda died in the same pit she had digged for Ethelbert. But certain it is, God's vengeance followed this heinous fact, within one year after the same was committed, by the death of herself, her husband, and her son, and the translation of that kingdom from the Mercians to the West Saxons.

"Elfrid, the youngest and passing fair daughter

of King Offa and Queen Quindred, being promised in marriage, and assured unto King Ethelbert, after the murder of her hoped bridegroom, with great lamentations and prophesying threats of revenge, abandoned the society of men, and withdrew herself into the monastry of Crowland, in the Fenns, where in contemplation and solitary pensive sadness she spent the remainder of her life."

(This account from Roger Hoveden.)

ANECDOTES OF ALFRED THE GREAT.—Though all the incidents in the life of this great prince are well known to almost all readers, yet the style of the ancient historian is not so generally, and it is to preserve and bring forward that pleasing simplicity, that the passages are here introduced, more than from the idea of giving information.

"In the year eight hundred seventy-six, Rollo, a nobleman of Denmark, entered into England, with a numerous army, with no less spoil and destruction than other of those Danes before him had done, notwithstanding the truce; with whom King Alfred met, and gave him so hot a welcome, that he liked not greatly his entertainment; and

being warned (forsooth) in his sleep, that better fortune attended him in France, he left his countrymen to engage with the English.

"The Danes then accounting the peace to be broken, like bees from the hive, infest all the land, insomuch that this undaunted king Alfred was oft times brought to such extremities, that he hid himself out of sight, and in the fens and marsh grounds was forced, with such small companies as he had, to live by fishing, fowling, and hunting of wild beasts for his food, having no more of his great monarchy left him, but Somerset, Hampton, and Wiltshire only, neither yet them free from the incursions of the Danes.

"The solitary place of his most residency was an island, inclosed with the two rivers Thane and Parret, at their meeting in the county of Somerset, commonly called *Edelingsey*, where he, in very poor attire disguised, was entertained into a cowherd's house, (if not into his service) where at a time, as he sat by the fire in trimming of his bow and shafts, a cake of dough baking on the hearth before him, chanced to burn; the cowherdess coming in, and seeing him minding his bow more than his bread, in a great fury cast away both his bow and his arrows, and checking him as her groom, said, 'Thou fellow, doest thou see the bread burn before thy face, and wilt not turn it? And yet thou art glad to eat it before it is half

baked?' Little suspecting him to be the man that had been served with much more delicate cakes.

"But this prince, the very mirror of princes, more minding the wealth of his subjects than the majesty of state, disguised himself in the habit of a common minstrel, and in person repaired to the Danes' camp, who lay like Senacheribs, wallowing in wantonness, and secure in their own conceits from impeach of danger; which Alfred, a most skillful musician, and an excellent poet, did not a little egg on, by his sweet music and songs of their valour; so that he was suffered to pass uncontrouled into the company of their princes, at banquets, or elsewhere; whereby he both saw their negligent security, and by diligent observance, learned the designs, that in their councils they intended.

"Returning to his comfortless company, he told them the condition of the hostile camp, and how easy it was to recover again their decayed estates; whereupon, shewing himself to his subjects, unto whose sight nothing could be more joyous, on the sudden set upon the careless camp of the Danes, and made thereof a very great slaughter, to the great terror of others, in other parts, that had accounted him dead long before.

"Hubba, that had harried the English, and now roused upon the news of King Alfred's victory and life, with thirty-three ships sailed from

Wales, and arrived in the mouth of Tan, where it falleth into the Severn Sea, essayed to take the then strong castle, called Kinwith; unto whom the Devonshire men gave battle, and slew eight hundred and eighty persons of their retinue; where died the Danish king Hubba, whose corps being there interred under a great heap of coppered stones, gave name to the place, which was called Hubblestone, from that circumstance.

"There and then was taken the Danish much esteemed banner, called Reafon, wherein a raven was portrayed, all wrought in needle-work by the three sisters of Hubba, and Hungar, the daughter of Lothbroke the Dane; in regard whereof, as also for the opinion of good luck, (as they took it) it was ever borne before them in their wars.

"These adverse proceedings of the Danes designs especially falling when the game was near won, made them suspect, how fair soever the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would serve it in the end to their loss; for Alfred now flocked up upon every side, began to build fortresses behind his back, and forward to march with his conquering sword; whereupon the Danes sent to him for peace, and delivered him hostages, upon assurance that they meant as they spoke: the conditions were, that their king should receive baptism, and the great army of the Danes quietly to remove out of the kingdom. Whereupon Gurmund, or Gurthum, the Danish king, repaired to the new built

castle of Edelingsey, unto king Alfred, and in the place then called Abre, was washed in the laver of baptism, whom Alfred received for his god-son, by the name of Athelstane, and gave him in free gift, the country of East Angles. In the same fountain of Grace, thirty of the chief Danish nobility were initiated, upon whom the truly Christian king Alfred bestowed many rich gifts; and that the limits of the English might be free from their incursions, thus the confines of King Alfred's kingdom were laid forth, as we find it, in the end of those laws that Alfred published, whose words are these.

"Let the bounds of our dominion stretch from the River Thamisis, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water, and so forth strait unto Bedford, and finally going along by the river of Ouse, let them end at Watling Street."

This Extract is from Simon Dunelmensis.

Anecdote of Edward, surnamed the Elder, from the same author (Simon Dunelmensis) A.D. 910.

"King Edward's monarchy thus ascending the horizon, began to shine very bright; therefore,

he seeking to hold what he had got, set about to secure his towns with castles and walls of defence.

"These his proceedings caused him to be both beloved and feared; but his mind was still free from any ambitious pride, as may appear by the intercourse betwixt Leoline, Prince of Wales, and himself, whereof William Mapeus maketh mention to be as followeth.

"What time Edward the Elder lay at Austelina, and Leoline, Prince of Wales, at Bethesley, intending a parley, Leoline refused to come down, or to cross the Severn; whereupon, Edward took boat, and entered the river towards him; which, when Leoline saw, and knew who he was, he cast off his rich robe wherewith he was clad, and which he had prepared for that royal assembly, and entered the river breast high, where clasping the boat with an embrace, submissively said:

"'Most sage and wise king, thy humility hath conquered my insolency, and thy wisdom triumphed over my folly; come, get upon my neck, which I have (fool as I am) lifted up against thee; so shalt thou enter into that land, which thy benign mildness hath made thine own this day.'

"And after he had taken him upon his shoulders, he would needs have him sit down upon his royal robe, and so putting his hands jointly into his, did him homage."

From the same Author—Of the same Prince.

"Egnina, the wife of Edward the Elder, was the daughter of a mean gentleman, named Bercher, whose eye-pleasing features, and alluring beauty, made her to be educated above the degree of her birth, and was brought up by the nurse of King Edward, in tender affection and great esteem. It chanced King Edward, in kindness, came to visit his nurse, where seeing the admirable beauty of this fair maid, fell so far in love thereupon, that he took her to wife without the consent or knowledge of his father (King Alfred the Great); in which regard she is reputed by some writers rather his concubine than his wife, no other cause moving them thereto, but her mean parentage, and secret making and keeping of this marriage, although there be some good histories, and many likelihoods to induce that she was his true and lawful queen."

Anecdote of Elflida, sister to King Edward, and daughter to Alfred—an Amazonian Princess.

"Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, who had married Elflida, King Edward's sister, departed this life,

she having borne him only one daughter, Elfwen, whose travail in child-birth was so grievous, that ever after she forebore her husband's bed; and thereupon changing the wonted affections of her sex from her husband and her children, unto the battle, governing Mercia eight years after her husband's decease, as another Zenobia, and did not a little assist her brother in his wars; for the Welsh she pursued as far as Brecknoke, which she took, with their queen. From the Danes she took the county of Derby, and assaulting the town upon them put herself in great danger; for enterprising to enter the gate, she was resisted by whole multitudes of Danes; notwithstanding, she presisted and got entrance, in which encounter many died, and four of her chief men of war, being warders of her person, ever fast by her side, were slain.

"The Danes, in Yorkshire, she constrained to be at her devotion, so that some of them became her subjects, some vowed to attend her in her aid, and some promised to be pressed at her dispose. Her policy in war proved ever the surest, her council of state was regarded the wisest, and her providence in building and repairing cities for the weal-public, or fortifying places for the munition of war, exceeded all others.

"This renowned lady giving place unto nature, left the wars to be continued by her brother; her

daughter at the dispose of her uncle, and her body to be buried at Gloucester, in the monastery of St. Peter's, which her husband and herself had formerly built." *Polidore Virgil.*

Anecdotes of the reign of Ethelstan—A. D. 924.

"His beginnings were with trouble, and that rather by reason of friends than foes, for it is recorded that Alfred, a nobleman, either in favour of King Edward's other sons, or else on an ambitious hope for himself, intended at Winchester to have plucked out the eyes of his Sovereign: but his treason being known before the seed could shew blade, he was apprehended and sent to Rome, to purge himself by oath: where, before the altar of Saint Peter, and Pope John the Tenth, he there abjured the act, and thereupon fell suddenly down to the earth, so that his servants took him and bare him into the English school, where within three days after he died: the Pope denying him Christian burial, until King Ethelstan's pleasure was known.

"These storms overpast, as great a cloud seeing to arise unto Ethelstan's sight, whose eye of

jealousy ever following the ascent, and his ear ever opened unto the instillations of parasites, amongst whom his cup-bearer was a chief, who daily brought more and more suspicion into the king's mind, till lastly he consented to the death of the young Prince Edwin, his brother, in manner as followeth.

"Edwin was the fourth son of King Edward (surnamed the elder), who was very young when his father was buried, and his brother crowned.—Notwithstanding, a deep jealousy possessing the king that his title was too near the crown, he caused him to be put into a little pinnance without either tackel or oars, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waves; whence the young prince, overcome with grief, and not able to master his own passions, cast himself headlong into the sea, and his dead body being driven upon the coast of Flanders, was taken up by Adolphe, Earl of Boloine, his cousin german, and honourably buried in the monastry of Saint Bertin, in the town of St. Omer's—which fact afterwards was much lamented by King Ethelstan, who grievously punished the suggestions of his own jealousy, and the procurers of his brother's death; sending great thanks to the Earl that buried him, and rich presents to the monastry which entombed him; and to appease the ghost of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of Middleton, in the county of Dorset.

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Though with too late a sorrow he repented the same; for besides his seven years of penance for his betrayed brother, and the monastry of Middleton which he built, he likewise erected that of Michelness: as for the most part such seed plots were ever sown in the furrows of blood, which happened on this occasion.

"It chanced his cup-bearer, in his service upon a festival, to stumble with one foot, and to recover himself with the other, which made him pleasantly to say—'You see how one brother helpeth another.' Upon which speech the king, with grief and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother; and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him, the procurer, to repay his fact with deserved death:—And himself was ever after more tender and careful towards his other brethren, and bestowed his sisters in honourable marriage.

"This King Ethelstan having overcome (in a most terrible conflict), Anlafe and Godfree, two princes who had made war upon him, after having conquered and constrained them to submit themselves to his will, he began to consider that the chance of war was variable, and success not to be commanded; thus pitying the case of these downcast princes, restored them presently to their former estates, adding withal this princely saying, 'That it was more honour to make a king than to be a king.'

"Afterwards Constantine, king of Scotland, making war on this prince, Anlafe (called by writers King of the Irish, and of the Isles, who had married the daughter of Constantine) came to his aid. A man no doubt both hardy and desperate, as appeared by the action he underwent; for it is recorded, that as Alfred had attempted to know the state of the Danes, so this Dane, at this place, did to understand the English; for, disguising himself like a harper, he went from tent to tent, and had access even unto King Ethelstan's presence, until he had learned what he most desired, and then returned again to his camp: which part of his was no bolder, nor more wisely performed, than was kept secret, and after revealed by a most faithful soldier: for Anlafe departed, and free from pursuit, the soldier made this act known to the King Ethelstan, who, being sore displeased at his enemies' escape, imputed the fault to him the revealer; but he replying made the king this answer—

"'I once served Anlafe (said he) under his pay for a soldier, and gave him the same faith that I now do unto you. If then I should have betrayed his designs, what trust could your Grace have reposed in my truth? Let him therefore die—but not by my treachery! And, by his escape, secure your royal self from danger; remove your tent from the place where it now stands, least unawares he haply assail you.'

"The king, seeing the faith of this soldier, was therewith satisfied; and forthwith commanded his tent to be removed, where presently a bishop, new come to the camp, pitched up his own; and, the night following, both himself and his retinue were slain, by the same Anlafe that sought the king's life. In assaulting the place, and pressing forward, came to the king's tent; who, awaked by the sudden alarm, boldly rushed upon his enemies, and, encouraging his men, put them back, with the death of five petty kings, twelve dukes, and well near of the whole army which Anlafe had brought.

"It is recorded, that before this victory, as King Ethelstan travelled into the North, and coming to Yorkshire (as he was a man much devoted to God ward), he turned aside to visit the tomb of St. John of Beverly, where, earnestly praying for his prosperous success, for want of richer jewels, there offered up his knife, vowing, that if he returned with victory, he would redeem it with a worthy price. And when he had thus triumphed over his enemies, returning to Beverly, he with many rich and costly gifts regained again his own knife.

"To leave a memorial of King Ethelstan's great victory, give me leave to write, what I find in many historians, namely—that near unto the Castle Dunbar, in Scotland, he praying that his right unto those parts might be confirmed unto

posterity by a sign, at one blow, with his sword, he struck an ell deep into a stone, which stood so cloven a long time afterwards, &c.

" His dominion was the largest that any Saxon before him had ever enjoyed, and his fame the greatest with all foreign princes, who sought his friendship, both with love and alliance, by marriage with his sisters, and presenting him with rare and rich presents. For Hugh, king of France, besides other inestimable jewels, sent him the sword of Constantine the Great, in the hilt whereof, all covered with gold, was one of the nails that fastened Christ to his cross; he sent likewise the spear of Charles the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christ his side; as also part of the cross whereon he suffered his passion, and a piece of the thorney crown wherewith his blessed temples were begored. And with these, came the banner of St. Maurice, so often spread by Charles the Great in his Christian wars against the Saracens. And from Otho the Emperor, who had married his sister, was sent a vessel of precious stones, artificially made, wherein were seen landscapes, with vines, corn, and men, all of them seeming so naturally to move as if they had grown and retained life. And the king of Norway sent him a goodly ship, with a gilt stern, purple sails, and the deck garnished all with gold.

" Of these accounted holy reliques, King Ethel-

stan gave most part unto the Abbey of St. Swithin, in Winchester, and the rest to the monastry of Malmsbury."

(These extracts are from Speed, Hollingshed, and Polidore Virgil.)

The Emperor Trajan—the first person who caused Roades to be made in the Island of Brittain, &c. &c. From Speed—A. D. 99.

"However silent writers have been of this emperor's affairs in this island, yet it is to be thought, that unto the care that this good emperor had for the weal of his subjects, is projected by his providence in making ways passable from place to place, whereof remain many testimonies; by those his causeis drawn with wonderful diligence, even through the whole island; which now, though dismembered and cut in pieces by the country people where thorough they passed, yet do many remnants thereof remain, especially in pastures, or by grounds, out of the road way, with banks so high, that evidently they shew themselves. Of these causeis Galen writeth as followeth.

"The ways (saith he) Trajan repaired by paving with stones, or raising with banks, cast up such

pieces of them as were moist and miry; by stocking up and riddling such as were rough and overgrown with bushes and briars; by making bridges over rivers that could not be waded through; where the way seemed longer than needeth, by cutting out another shorter; if any were, by reason of some steep hill, the passage were hard and uneasy, by turning it aside through easier places. Now, in case it was haunted by wild beasts, or lie waste and desart, by drawing it thence through places inhabited; and withall, laying level all uneven and rugged grounds.

"Along these causeis the emperor caused to be set, little pillars, or columes, with numeral characters cut in them, to signify how many miles from place to place—of these Sidonius Apollinaris writeth thus:

"Break not the Ancient Causeis strong,
Whereon the Columes standeth long,
Nor names of Cæsars do not wrong."

Of Ethelred, commonly called the Unready—A. D. 980. *From John Stow, Simon Dunelmensis, and William Malmesbury.*

"King Ethelred was a man neither fortunate in action, nor forward in proceedings, and there-

fore called the Unready, according to the monkish writers (though we find no such just cause in recording his life) his youth was spent in idleness, feeding his senses with all voluptuous baits, his middle years with a careless government, and his latter end deservedly in continual resistance of the blood-thirsty Danes, &c. &c.

"The English led in the dislike of young Ethelred's government, were the rather drawn to impute these and all other adversities to this unfortunate prince, by reason of a prediction of Dunstan's, who had prophesied, that they should not be free from blood and sword, till there came a people of an unknown tongue, that should bring them to the thraldom. And that opinion was screwed deeper into their fearful conceit, by a cloud appearing of blood and fire immediately after his coronation.

"The scourge of the English and blood-thirsty Danes came now from Normandy, with their full sails, and landing at Exmouth, their first and greatest fury was against the city of Exeter, which when they fiercely besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the citizens, as that enraged above measure with the ignominy of the repulse, they thence, as a sudden flood, bore down all that stood in their way; and then plainly began to appear the rise of the Danes, which every where lorded it wherever they had to do; and the fall of the Saxons, whose over-top monarchy and weak walls

now wanted props to hold up the weight; for the captains of the English, wanting lore in deeds of arms, their direction never prospered; if ships were made, they never speed well, but either were chased of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest; if the nobles ever assembled to consult of the state, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleen each against other, than jointly agreeing how to redress the present danger, or to repress the common enemy. The clergy, as backward as any, denied the king their assistance, pleading their exemption from war, and privilege of the church, when the land lay bleeding and deploring for help; to these were added scarcity, hunger, and robberies. These miseries caused the sums of their compositions to be augmented, whose last was sixteen thousand, now twenty, immediately twenty-four, then thirty, and lastly, forty thousand pounds, until the land was emptied of all its coin; the kingdom of her glory, the nobles of courage, the commons of their content, and the sovereign of his wonted respect and observance, &c. &c.

"To redress all this the careful King Ethelred was far too weak, and therefore intended to do that by policy, which he could not by strength; he therefore devised a desperate stratagem, that proved the destruction of the royal Saxon blood, and conquest of the land to another nation.

"For, seeking to disburden his realm of these

devouring Danes, which, by even force he could no ways do, he attempted, in a bloody massacre, to destroy them; giving a secret commission unto every city in his dominions, that at an appointed time they should set upon and kill all the Danes: the day was the thirteenth of November, being the festival of Saint Bricius, A. D. 1002, and presently after his marriage with Emma, who for her passing beauty, was called the flower of Normandy, in confidence of which affinity he presumed to do what he did. His command was performed accordingly, and with such rigour, that in Oxford, the fearful Danes, for refuge took into the church of Saint Frideswide, as into a sanctuary of venerable antiquity and privilege amongst ancient kings; but they, in fury, regarding neither place or person, set the church on fire, wherein were burnt a great sort of those Danes, with many rich ornaments, and the library thereof utterly defaced; at which even the king was much grieved, and therefore, at his very great cost, beautifully repaired the church, &c. &c.

"In this massacre, the Lady Gunhild, sister to Swain, king of Denmark, a great and continual friend to the English, with her husband and son together were slaughtered, although she lay in hostage upon conditions of peace, whose husband was an Earl of great might, and both of them Christians."

A dreadful revenge from the Danes was the natural result of this treachery and cruelty, which after a variety of eventful circumstances, and different successes on either side, with almost unequaled treason, treachery, and barbarity in each party, the Danes finally triumphed, and obtained the government of the kingdom.

Character of Edward the Confessor. From Baker's Chronicle.

"Two acts are related of this king, that seem nothing correspondent to the general opinion had of his virtue; one concerning his mother, the other touching his wife; that concerning his mother, Queen Emma, was this, that because after King Ethelred's death she married the Danish king Canutus, and appeared to favour her issue by him more than her issue by King Ethelred, therefore he dispossessed her of all her goods, and committed her to custody in the abbey of Worwill; and more than this, so far hearkened to an aspersion cast upon her character, of unchaste familiarity with Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester; that for her purgation, she was fain to pass the trial of fire ordeal, which was in this manner; nine plough-

shares, red hot, were placed in unequal distances, which she must pass, barefoot and blindfold; and if she passed them unhurt, then she was judged innocent, if otherwise, guilty. And this trial she passed, and came off fairly, to the great astonishment of all beholders.

"The other, touching his wife, was this; he had married Editha, the beautiful and virtuous daughter of Earl Godwyn, and because he had taken displeasure against the father, he could shew no kindness to the fair daughter of him he hated: he made her his wife, but conversed not with her as a wife; and yet was content to hear her accused of incontinency, whereof if she were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as what the virtues were, for which, after his death, he was reputed a saint, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without injury to his wife; pious, but not without injury to his mother; just, in his present government, but not without neglect of posterity; for through his want of providence in that respect, he left the crown to so doubtful succession, that soon after his decease it was translated out of English into French, and the kingdom made servile unto a fourth foreign nation.

"One ability he had, which raised him above the pitch of ordinary kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with kings; that by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a disease,

which, from his curing, is called the King's Evil. His mother, Emma, in memory of the nine ploughshares she had passed in her trial, gave nine manors to the Minster of Winchester, and himself, remembering the wrong he had done her, bestowed on the same place the island of Portland, in Dorsetshire, being about seven miles in compass. He made also, of a little monastry in the west of London, by the river of Thames, a most beautiful church, called of the place Westminster; he endowed it with many rich revenues, and confirmed his charters, under his broad seal, being the first of the English kings who ever used that large and stately impression in their Charters and Patents. In Westminster he provided for his own sepulchre, and he likewise built another church, standing without the abbey, which he dedicated to Saint Margaret."

Of the places of residence of William the Conqueror, and other ancient Kings—Of his death, burial, and other particulars, both interesting and amusing. From William Caxton, and Malmsbury.

"William the First commonly kept his Christmas at Glocester, his Easter at Winchester, and

his Whitsuntide at Westminster, and once in the year, at one of these places, would he be new crowned; he thought it made it sit the easier on his head. And for the houses which the kings of England had in those days in London, we find that at Westminster was a palace, the ancient habitation of the kings of England, from the time of Edward the Confessor; which, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was, by casual fire, burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately palace this was, and in that age for building incomparable. The remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the high Court of Parliament, and the next unto it, wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called St. Edward's painted chamber, because the tradition holdeth that the said King Edward died in it. Adjoining unto this is the White-hall. Beneath this is the great hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept; this hall, which we now have, was built by King Richard the Second out of the ground, as appeareth by his arms engraven in the stone work (when he had plucked down the old hall, built before by William Rufus), and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid palace, after it was burnt down in Anno 1512, lay desolate, and King Henry the Eighth shortly after translated the king's seat to a house not far off, built by Cardinal Wolsey, and is called White-hall. The Tower of London was anciently used by the kings of England to lodge in.

Other houses too they had, one where Bridewell now standeth, out of the ruins whereof the new Bridewell is built; another called the Tower Royal, now the king's wardrobe; another in Bucklersbury, called Serne's Tower; another where now the Pope's head tavern is, over against the Old Exchange, thought to have been this king's house; also another in Lime Street, called the King's Artrice; also another in the Old Jewry; and oft times use was made of Baynard Castle. But all of these are long since demolished, that we may see that palaces and places have their fate and period as well as men. As for the arms of this prince, William the First, he gave three lions passant, gold, in a field gules, which have ever since been used as peculiar to the crown of England.

"Towards the close of his reign, he appointed his two sons, Robert and Henry, with joint authority, Governors of Normandy. These went together to visit the king of France, lying at Constance; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, Henry played with Lewis, the heir of France, at chess, and winning much money of him, Lewis grew so choleric that he threw the chess men in Henry's face, calling him the son of a bastard; and thereupon Henry struck Lewis with the chess board, and had presently slain him if his brother Robert had not steped in and stayed him. Upon this the king of France invades

Normandy, and draws Robert, King William's eldest son, to join with him against his father: but King William coming over with an army, was presently reconciled to his son; yet being corpulent, and in years, was by this means much distempered in body, and so retired to Roan, where he stayed as not being well in health. The French king hearing of keeping his bed more than he was wont, and the nature of his disease, and in allusion to the prominence of person, gave him this frump—'Our cousin William (said he) is laid now in child-bed. Oh! what a number of candles must I offer at his going to church? Surely, I think an hundred thousand will not suffice.'

"King William hearing thereof, is said to have made this answer—'Well, I trust our cousin of France will be at no such cost, but after this my child-birth, at my going to church, I swear by the resurrection, and brightness of God, (his usual oath), I will find him one thousand candles, and light them all myself.' And accordingly, toward August following, when both the trees, fruits, corn, and ground, was most flourishing, he entered France with a mighty army, spoiling all the west parts thereof before him, and lastly set the city of Meux on fire, wherein he consumed the fair Church of our Lady, in the walls whereof was enclosed an holy anchorite, who might, but would not escape, holding it a breach of his religious vow to forsake his cell in that distress. The king, over

violent in these attempts, cheered his men to feed the fire, and came himself so near the flames, that, with the heat of his harness, he relapsed into his former sickness, and withal, leaping on horseback over a ditch, occasioned a rupture, which proved fatal, whereupon, feeling death approach, he returned again into Roan, where presently after he died.

"And that which is scarce credible, is yet recorded for certain, that the very same day he died at Roan his death was known at Rome, a thousand miles off, which, if it be true, it seems there are certain invisible intelligences that can make such speed, whereof Froissard tells a strange story, and for the strangeness not unworthy to be related here.

"There was (saith he) in the time of King Edward the Third, a knight in France, named Coraase, who could tell any thing that was done all the world over, the very day it was done, or within a day or two, how far so ever it were off; and this he did by such an invisible intelligencer.—For he had gotten a familiar spirit Orthone, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him for divers years, till at last he lost him by this occasion. He had only yet heard the voice of his spirit Orthone, and now had great longing to see his shape; whereupon the spirit, seeing his earnestness—'Well then, said he, tomorrow morning, when you rise out of your bed,

the first thing you see shall be I.' So the knight, rising in the morning, looked out, but could see nothing; therefore he blamed Orthone for not keeping his promise with him. Orthone answered, he had kept his promise, 'for,' saith he, 'bethink yourself what it was you first saw after your rising.' Then the knight, bethinking himself, remembered he saw two straws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another. 'Why, (answered Orthone) that was I.' Then the knight desired that he might see him in such a shape as he might take notice of him. 'Well, then (said the spirit), to-morrow morning, when you rise, the first thing you see shall be I.' So the next morning, the knight rising, and looking out of his window, the first thing he saw was a sow, so lean and deformed, he could not bear to look upon it, or abide its being near; so forgeting, at that moment, his friendly spirit Orthone, he thereupon caused his men to set dogs upon it to drive it away: which being done, the sow vanished away: after this his spirit Orthone never came to him any more. And this relation Froissard had from the knight's own mouth. And by such like means it might be that King William's death was known at Rome the very day he died at Roan.

"And thus he who was a conqueror, was conquered himself by death: we may well say he was conquered by death, seeing death used him more despightfully then ever he whilst living used any

whom he had conquered. For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants, purloining what they could lay hands on, forsook him and fled—leaving his body almost naked upon the ground. Afterwards William, archbishop of Roan, commanded his body should be conveyed to Caen, but his command was little regarded.—Till at last one Herlewyne, a country knight, at his own charges, caused his body to be embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the abbots and monks meeting the corpse suddenly, in the midst of the solemnity, a violent fire brake out in the town, with the fright whereof every man left the place; and thus was his body a second time left forlorn.

"In the end, a few monks returned, and accompanied the hearse to the Abbey Church; but when the divine service was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the grave, one Anselm Fitz Auther stood up, and claimed that ground to have been the floor of his father's house, which King William had violently wrested from him; and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his body with the earth of his inheritance. Whereupon, after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground itself, paid him by Henry, the king's youngest son, who only of all

sons was present at the funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put into the grave, it happened that the sepulchre of which stood within the grave, was hewn somewhat too strait for his large body, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence, such an intolerable stench proceeded from the coffin that none were able to endure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his miseries—for in the year 1562, when Castilian took the city of Caen, certain dissolute soldiers opened his tomb, and not finding the treasure they expected, threw forth his bones with great derision; whereof some were afterwards brought into England.—So that if we consider his many troubles in this life, and after his death, we may well think, that, notwithstanding all his greatness, a very mean man would hardly be persuaded to change his fortunes with him."

The clemency of this prince (William the First) is highly spoken of by the foregoing historians, who recordeth many instances of it, from which are selected the following:

"Certainly there is no such goodness of nature as aptness to be reconciled, of which virtue it seems King William had a large proportion, for

he seldom remembered injuries after submission. Edrick, the first that rebelled against him, he placed in an office near about him. Gospatrick, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of conspiracies against him, he made Earl of Glocester, and trusted him with managing a war against Malcom, king of Scotland. Eustace, Earl of Boloigne, who, in the king's absence in Normandy, attempted to seize upon Dover Castle, he received afterwards into great favour and respect. The Earls Marcher and Syward, with Wolnoth, the brother of Harold, a little before his death he released out of prison. Edgar, who, as next heir to the Saxon kings, had often attempted by arms to recover his right, he not only, after twice defection, pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a prince; it is said, twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of silver, and other large livings besides: so as Edgar, finding the sweetness of living in safety, and the pleasures of a country life, spent the rest of his days (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying or being envyed."

Remarkable instance of Bravery in a private soldier in this reign.

"It is memorable, that a private Norwegian soldier did, at this time, by himself alone, upon a

bridge, resist the whole army of the English, slew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together; till one getting under the bridge, found means to thrust up a spear into his body, and thus killed him."

An account of the lamentable Catastrophy which befell the Children of King Henry the First—after which, it is related of him, that he never was seen to smile or enjoy any amusement.

"King Henry, returning into England after his conquest of Normandy, left all his own family with the lords and ladies, their companions and passengers, in all to the number of 180, to follow him, and prosperously arrived in England.

"Prince William (who, greatly advanced by his father, wanted but only the name of a king) commanded another ship to be prepared for himself, his brethren, and sisters, with many other nobles and gallant courtiers, both of England and Normandy, who, plying the mariners with pots and wine, (therein being instruments of their own calamity approaching), made them brag to outsail the king's ship, gone before; and in the night, putting forth from land, with a merry gale, made

way over the dancing waves as swift as an arrow; but (as if the heavens would have King Henry's too great felicity and tempered with sence of courtly variety) in the midst of their jollity and singing, (alas! they sang their last, and little thought on death), suddenly the ship dashed against a rock, not very far from the shore, at which fearful disaster a hideous cry arose, all of them shifting, (and yet through amazedness not knowing how to shift) to save themselves from the danger. Prince William got speedily into the cock-boat, and might well have escaped, had he not pitied his sister, the Countess of Perche, who, crying unto him for help, when turning the boat to her aid, so many strained to get in, (every man in such a case esteeming his life as much as a prince) that with their weight it presently sunk; and of so princely a train not one escaped to relate the doleful tragedy, save only one sailor (who had been a butcher), who swam all the night upon the main mast, and got on shore in the morning, with much danger of his life.

"This was the most unfortunate shipwreck which ever happened in our seas, bringing an inconceivable heaviness to the king and the whole state; for therein perished Prince William, Duke of Normandy, the joy of his father, and the hope of the nation; Richard, his base brother; his sister Maud, Countess of Perche; Richard, Earl of Chester, with his wife Lady Lucy, the king's

neice; Otwell, the earl's brother, the young duke's governor; divers of the king's chief officers; and most of the Princes, with Geoffrey, arch-deacon of Hereford; and very many others, of prime note and esteem; none of their bodies being found, though great search was made after them."

This account is from Roger Hoveden.

The Reproof which Henry the First received from his Chaplain, for bestowing the Church Vacancies upon illiterate persons—A. D. 1114. *Speed.*

"The war somewhat assuaged, King Henry returned into England, where the people conceived much grudge at his importable taxes, and the clergy no less at his reservation of church livings, under pretence of keeping them for the worthiest; but how unworthily he oftentime bestowed them, may be gathered from that pretty reproof of Gaymandus, his chaplain, who grieving to see ignorant and unworthy men (for the most part) advanced to bishoprics and other dignities—when, on the Rogation Day, he celebrated divine service in the King's Chapel Royal, being to read that lesson out of Saint James—'It rained not on

the earth three years and six months,'—he purposely read it,—it rained not, one, one, one year and five one months: all men either laughing, or wondering at his reading. The king checked him for it, and asked him the reason of it; 'Marry (quoth Guymandus) it was to please your Grace, as I see you bestow your preferments only on such as can read in that manner.'

"Which secret touch, the king well weighing, did both presently prefer him to the government of Saint Frideswides, in the University of Oxford; but was ever afterwards more careful in all his other choices."

Particulars of a pitched Battle between the kings of England and France. From the monk, Matthew Paris, A. D. 1129.

"A pitched field was fought betwixt the kings of England and France, whereof this is the amount: the French king having ordered his army into two battallions, in the former of them placed William, the son of Duke Robert, the brother of King Henry of England; the other, Lewis himself led, consisting of his special and chiefest soldiers. King Henry also disposed of his forces

into three battles; the first, consisting of his peers and men of Normandy; in the second, himself, kept among his own guard and daily attendants; and in the third, he marshaled his sons with the main strength of the footmen. The armies thus ordered, the troops on both sides gave assault, whereof the first battalion of the French broke through the ranks of the Norman nobles, overthrowing their horsemen, and forcing them to scatter; in which violence they likewise broke into King Henry's battle, and put it much out of order; but he taking courage and comforting his men, began a most bloody and bold conflict, wherein himself was twice struck upon the head by William Crispin, County of Eurreux, (whom for his offences Henry had before banished) whose sword and strokes were so sure and so heavy, that albeit the king's helmet was impenetrable, yet with fine force, was it beaten flat to his head, insomuch that the blood came forth in abundance; but Henry, finding himself wounded, gathered with his rage more strength, and struck the said County in such sort, that at one blow he overthrew both him and his horse, and took him prisoner, by which example his soldiers were led to fight like lions, and the French to betake themselves unto flight. In this battle died many thousands, and amongst them Baldwine, Earl of Flanders."

Extract from an ancient MS. respecting the Emperor (husband to Maud, daughter to Henry) becoming an Anchorite.

"Whilst King Henry about his own affairs lay in Normandy, news was brought him that Henry, the Emperor, his son-in-law, was dead; whereupon he presently sent for his daughter, the Empress, and with her he returned into England; where, calling a parliament, in the presence of himself and of David, King of Scotland, he caused his nobles, and first, before all other, Stephen, his sister's son (who was the first to violate it) to swear fealty to her, as to his lawful, and now only heir, by whom they should again come to be governed by the ancient royal blood of England, from which he shewed her to be descended; which oath was this, that they should, as much as in them lay, after the king's death (if he died without heir male) establish her queen of the monarchy of Great Brittain, now called England.

"Gyraldas and Higden, in conjunction with the ancient MS. affirm, that Henry, the Emperor, died not at this time (as was given forth), but that rather upon a remorse of conscience, for imprisoning his own natural father, Henry the Third, unto death; and also his spiritual father, the Pope, with his Cardinals; repenting these outrages, he laid

aside his imperial robes, relinquished all his royal splendour, and subjects' homage, and secretly fled into England, where at West Oneston he became a hermit, changing his name into Godscall, where he so lived, in all acts of humility and goliness, the space of ten years; when dying, he was buried in the cathedral church of Saint Warburye the Virgin.

"Upon which his sudden flight and missing, the Empress, Maud,* some say, was suspected to be guilty of his death, and for that cause, was kept continually in the Queen's Chamber, as a prisoner; indeed it is true, that she abode in the Chamber of the Queen, but it was not because she was suspected as the murderer of her husband, the Emperor, a wiser and better reason thereof is given; it was because that her father, King Henry, loved her exceedingly, as being now his sole heir; and where should an Empress rather live, than with a Queen? a daughter, than with her mother? a fair lady, a widow, and an heir of so great a kingdom, than where her person might be safest from danger, her mind from inveigling, and her carriage from suspicion? but she was a woman generally well thought of, and approved among the greatest princes of the empire, for her prudent and gracious behaviour towards the Emperor, her husband; insomuch, that

* John Stow.

they became suitors unto her, seeking by all means to attain her to govern them, and to that end attended her to King Henry, in Normandy, to solicit the same; to whom in no wise he would give his consent, meaning to make her the successor to his kingdom.

"Malmsbury, who then lived, accordeth to this, who says, 'she was very unwilling to have come out of those parts of the empire, where both her dowry and acquaintance lay; and that the princes of those countries came more than once into England, to have her for their Empress; but that the king would not part with the heir of his crown.'"

The Dream of King Henry the First, supposed as presaging his death, and the prodigies presaging his brother, the unfortunate Robert the Curtoise, Duke of Normandy, A. D. 1131 and 1134. *From Roger Hoveden.*

"Were it not reported by some writers of very great note, I might here pass over some sad presaging dreams which sorely perplexed the king, and grieved his mind, with many forebodings (as the Monks interpreted them) which he had, being now ready to pass into Normandy. For to his

seeming, he saw a sort of rustick ploughmen, with their instruments of husbandry; after them, soldiers, with their weapons of war; and lastly, the bishops, with their crosier staves, all of them angrily threatening him, and attempting his death: wherewith he was so amazed, that he, leaping out of his bed, called aloud for help; but seeing it but a dream at the last, as a dream only he esteemed it—and passed over into Normandy, &c. &c.

"And then, again preparing for his last and fatal passage into Normandy, took shipping upon the Nones of August, (the very day in which he first received the crown) when happened so wonderful an eclipse of the sun, that Malmsbury, the reporter, saith, himself then saw the stars then plainly in the firmament above the sun; and that two days after, so great and fearful an earthquake happened, that the house wherein himself (Malmsbury) sat, was lifted up with a double remove: and others say, that riffes in the earth were made by it, and that out of them came burning flames, which arose a great height, and they were so fierce, that they could not be quenched; which divers judged to be fatal presages and prognostics of the death of those princes, that shortly after ensued.

"For Robert the Curtoise, after twenty-six years imprisonment, and blindness through grief, conceived at the putting on of a fair new robe, (too little for the King, and therefore, in kindness,

sent to Duke Robert to wear) but he, as disdaining to be mocked with his brother's cast clothes, grew weary of his life, and cursing the time of his unfortunate nativity, refused henceforth to take any sustenance, and so pined himself to death. His body was buried at Gloucester, in the church of Saint Peter's, and middle of the quire, where unto this day remaineth his tomb, with the carved image of his features, as the monument of a most unfortunate man.

"And not long after King Henry, (his brother) in Normandy, coming scarce very well from hunting in the Forest of Lions, and town of St. Denys, made his repast of a dish of lampreys, (which meat he ever too well loved, but which never agreed with him) whereupon he fell more grievously sick, and the same still encreasing after seven day's sickness, he died."

The unfortunate Duke Robert suffered during his long and cruel imprisonment more distress than almost any other Royal Captive on record. Matthew, of Westminster, thus gives the circumstances of his death and his previous captivity, in these words:

"Amongst the captives, all great men, was

Duke Robert himself, whom the king brought over with him into England, and committed him to the castle of Cardiffe, in Wales, wherein he remained a prisoner till he died; used, for a time, he was (for outward appearance) with a reasonable liberty for recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which, though it encreased his misery, yet it shortened not his life, for he lived from the time of his imprisonment twenty-eight years. And thus the great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of nature, in his life was the scorn of fortune; but the chief touch of grief to his heart, and the closing of his life was this.

"The king, his brother, sent him, according to his custom, a robe of scarlet; and putting it first on himself, perceived the capouch to be somewhat strait, whereupon he said, 'carry this garment to my brother, for his head is less than mine.' The messenger delivering the robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it, and being told that the king had first essayed it, and what speeches he had used, the Duke (in great distress) replied, I have now too long protracted a miserable life, since my brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old clothes to wear. And from that time forward, would never eat any meat nor receive any comfort."

An accurate account of the Death, and Funeral Preparations of Henry the Second—A.D. 1189.

"He was not well at ease before; but when the King of France sent him a list of all those that had conspired against him, and he found the first man in the list to be his son, Prince John, he then fell suddenly into a fit of fainting, that so encreased upon him, that within four days after he ended his life; so strong a corrosive is grief of mind, when it meets with a body weakened before by sickness. He died in Normandy, when he had lived threescore and one year, and was buried at Font Everard, in France; the manner of whose burial was thus: He was clothed in his royal robes, his crown upon his head, white gloves upon his hands, boots of gold upon his legs, gilt spurs at his heels, a great rich ring upon his finger, his sceptre in his hand, his sword by his side, and his face uncovered and bare. As he was thus carried to be buried, his son Richard, in all haste ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the body, but suddenly, at his nostrils, he began bleeding afresh; which, though it were in Prince Richard no good sign of innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter tears, upon seeing it, was a good sign of repentance in him. It may not be unseasonable to speak in this place of a thing, in

which all writers seem to agree, that in the families of the Earls of Anjou, of whom this King Henry came, there was once a princess, who was a great enchantress; who, being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew through the church window, and was never seen afterwards. From this woman these latter Earls of Anjou were descended, which perhaps made the patriarch Heraclius say of this King Henry's children, 'That from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would—.' But writers had perhaps been more complete and more charitable without this remark."

Hoveden.

In no part of history are the vicissitudes of fortune more amply exemplified, than during the civil wars, between the contending branches of York and Lancaster. The following events, and the moral reflection thereon, by Philip de Comine, in which Edward the Fourth had so narrow an escape from his enemies, is selected as a proof. —A. D. 1470.

"The Duke of Burgundy had sent King Edward word of his danger, and of the very port

where the Earl of Warwick (his mortal foe) designed to land, and had persons constantly about him, on purpose to put him in mind of taking care of himself, and putting his kingdom in a posture of defence. But he never was concerned at any thing, but still followed his hunting; and nobody was so great with him as the Archbishop of York and the Marquess of Montacue, both the Earl of Warwick's brothers, (who had sworn to be true to him, against their brother and all opposers whatsoever) and the poor deluded king put an entire confidence in them.

"Upon the Earl of Warwick's landing, great numbers came into him, and king Edward was much alarmed; then (when too late) he began to look about him, and sent to the Duke of Burgundy to desire that his fleet might be ready at sea, to intercept the Earl of Warwick in his return for France, for at land he knew how to deal with him. The Duke of Burgundy was not well pleased with these words, for it was looked upon as a greater piece of policy to have hindered the Earl from landing, than to be forced to run the hazard of a battle afterwards, to drive him out again.

"The Earl of Warwick had not been landed above five or six days, before the whole country came into him, and being encamped within three leagues of the king, whose army was superior to the Earl's, (had they been all true to his interest)

and waited on purpose to give him battle. The king was possessed of a strong village, or house, to which (as he told me himself) there was no access, but by one bridge, which proved of great service to him; the rest of his forces were quartered in the neighbouring villages. As he sat at dinner, news was brought him, that the Marquess of Montacue, the Earl of Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality, were mounted on horseback, and caused their soldiers to cry "God bless King Henry." At first king Edward would give no credit to it, but dispatched other messengers to enquire, and in the mean time armed himself, and posted a battallion of his guards at the bridge, in case of any assault. There was with him, at that time, a very prudent gentleman, called the Lord Hastings,* High Chamberlain of England, in great authority with the king, and he deserved it; for though his own wife was the Earl of Warwick's sister, he continued loyal to his king, and was then in his service, (as he told me afterwards) with a body of three thousand horse. There was another likewise with him, the Lord Rivers,† (brother to King Edward's queen) besides several other persons of quality, who began to think that all was not well, for the messengers

* Beheaded in the Protectorship of Richard, Duke of Glocester.

† Beheaded also in the Protectorship of Richard.

confirmed what was told the king before, and that the enemy was marching boldly on, with a design to surprize him in his quarters.

"It happened that King Edward's quarters were no great distance from the sea, and a small ship, that followed with provision for his army, lay at anchor with two Dutch vessels, hard by. King Edward had but just time to get on board one of them—his chamberlain stayed a little behind, advised his lieutenant and the rest of the officers to go in with the rest to the Earl of Warwick, but conjured them to retain their old affection and allegiance to the king, and then he also went on board the ships which were just ready to set sail. It is the custom in England, when a battle is won, to give quarter, and no man is killed, especially of the common soldiers, (for they know every body will favour the strongest side) and it is but seldom that they are ransomed; so that when the king had made his escape, not one of his men was put to the sword. King Edward himself told me, that in all the battles which he had gained, his way was, when the victory was on his side, to mount on horseback, and cry out to save the common soldiers, and put the gentry to the sword, by which means none, or very few, escaped.

"And thus King Edward made his escape in the year 1470, by the assistance of a small vessel of his own, and two Dutch merchantmen, being only attended by seven or eight hundred men,

without any cloaths, but what they were to have fought in, no money in their pockets, and not one in twenty of them knew whether they were going. It was very surprizing to see this poor king (for so he might justly be called) run away in this manner, and be pursued by his own subjects. He had indulged himself in ease and pleasures for twelve or thirteen years together, and enjoyed a larger share of them than any prince in his time. His thoughts were wholly employed upon the ladies, hunting, and dressing. In his summer hunting, his custom was to have tents set up for the ladies, where he treated them after a splendid and magnificent manner; and indeed his humour and person were as well turned for love intrigues as any prince I ever saw in my life, for he was young, and the most beautiful man of his time. I mean when he was in his adversity—for afterwards he grew very corpulent.

"But see now, how on a sudden he is fallen into the calamities of the world. He sailed directly for Holland. At that time the Easterlings were at war, both with the English and French; they had many ships abroad, and were dreaded by the English, and upon good grounds, for they were good soldiers, had done them much prejudice that year already, and had taken several of their ships. The Easterlings, at a great distance, descryed the ships that were with the king, and about seven or eight of them began to give them

chase; but being far before them, he gained the coast of Holland, or rather something lower, for he put into Friesland, where he came to an anchor, and being low water, the king could not get into the harbour, but ran himself as near the shore as he could. The Easterlings came as near him as they could possibly make, and dropt their anchors, intending to board him the next tide.

"Misfortunes and dangers seldom go alone: the king's success, and his courage, were now strangely altered, and his affairs had taken a surprising turn. A fortnight before, that man would have been looked upon as mad who should have told him—'the Earl of Warwick shall drive you out of England, and in eleven days have the supreme power in his own hands.' For it cost him no more time to conquer the whole kingdom. Besides, he laughed at the Duke of Burgundy for squandering his money so extravagantly, in the defence of the sea, giving out that he wished his adversary were landed in England. But what excuse he could make for himself, after such a loss, and by his own fault, I cannot guess, unless this—'that I did not think it possible.' And if a prince be arrived at years of discretion, he ought to blush at such an excuse, for it will not serve his turn. So that this is a fair example for such princes as think it beneath them to be afraid, or to have a watchful eye upon their enemies; and are fond of such courtiers as flatter and indulge

them in their opinion, tell them they are the more valued and esteemed for it, and that it is a proof of their courage and resolution, to despise and laugh at danger. I know not what they may say to their faces—but I am sure, wise men account such expressions imprudent. It is honourable to fear, where there is occasion, and provide against it with all the security and caution imaginable.—A wise man in a prince's court is a great treasure, and security to his master, if one has the liberty to speak truth, and the *other* discretion enough to believe him and follow his advice.

"By chance the Lord de la Grutuse,* the Duke of Burgundy's Governor in Holland, was at that place, where, and when King Edward would land: who, by some persons put on shore, was immediately informed of his miserable condition, and the danger he was in by reason of the Easterlings. The Governor sent immediately to the Easterlings to charge them to be still, went on board the king's ship himself, and invited him on shore; whereupon the king landed, with his

* Lewis de Bruges, Lord de la Grutuse, Prince of Stenhuse, Great Chamberlain to the Duke of Burgundy, Governor and Lieutenant-General of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, created Earl of Winchester in England, by Edward the fourth King of England; in consideration of the signal service he had done him in Holland, when his Majesty was driven out of England by the Earl of Warwick.

brother, the Duke of Glocester (who was called afterwards King Richard the Third), and about fifteen hundred men in their train.

"The king had no money about him, and was forced to give the master of the ship, for his passage, a gown lined with martins, and promised to do more whenever he had an opportunity. But sure so poor a company was never seen before; yet the Lord de la Grutuse dealt very honourably by them: for he gave many of them cloaths, and bore all their expences till they came to the Hague, to which place he safely conducted them. Having waited upon King Edward thither, he dispatched the news of his arrival to the Duke of Burgundy, who was much surprized when he heard it, and would have been much better pleased if it had been an account of his death; for he was in great apprehension of the Earl of Warwick, who was his enemy, and at that time absolute in England.

"The Earl, upon the king's leaving the kingdom, had prodigious numbers of people flock into him, even the king's own party, some for love, and others through fear, submitted to him wholly, so that every day his army encreased; and not long after he marched to London. A great number of persons, of the best rank, who were in King Edward's interest, fled to the sanctuaries in that city, and did him good service afterwards;—among whom was the queen, his wife, who, in

great want of all things that were necessary, was there brought to bed of a prince."*

An account of the disdain and horror with which the King of France looked upon Richard the Third after the Murder of his Nephews. From the same Author.

"Our King was presently informed of King Edward's death: but he still kept it secret, and expressed no manner of joy upon hearing the news of it. Not long after, he received letters from the Duke of Glocester, who was made king, styling himself Richard the Third; and had barbarously murdered his two nephews. This King Richard desired to live in the same friendship with our king that his brother had done, and (I believe) would have his pension continued. But our king looked upon him as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his letters, nor give audience to his ambassadors; for King Richard,

* "This was the eldest son of Edward, born Nov. 4, 1470, known afterwards by the name and title of Edward the Fifth, and murdered by the order of his uncle, King Richard the Third, in the Tower of London."

after his brother's death, had sworn allegiance to his nephew, as his king and sovereign, and yet committed that inhuman act not long after. And, in full Parliament, caused two of his brother's daughters * (who were remaining) to be declared illegitimate, upon a pretence which he justified by Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, who, being formerly in great favour with King Edward, had incurred his displeasure, was cashiered, and imprisoned, and paid a good sum for his release-ment.

"This bishop affirmed, that the King Edward being in love with a certain lady, which he named, and otherwise unable to obtain her, had promised her marriage, and caused him to contract them; upon which he enjoyed her, though his promise was only to delude her. But such delusions are dangerous, as the effects frequently demonstrate. I have known many a courtier, who would not have lost a fair lady for all the swearing in Christendom. This malicious prelate smothered this revenge in his heart near twenty years together, but it recoiled upon himself. For he had a son whom he was extremely fond of, and to whom King Richard designed to give a plentiful estate, and to have married him to one of the young ladies whom he had declared illegitimate (who is now

* There were at that time five of King Edward's daughters alive, viz.—Elizabeth, Cicely, Anne, Katherine, and Bridget.

Queen of England, and has two fine children).—This young gentleman being at sea, by commission from King Richard, was taken upon the coast of Normandy; and, upon a dispute between those that took him, he was brought before the Parliament of Paris, put into the Petit Chasteller, and suffered to be there till he was starved to death.

"This King Richard himself reigned not long, for God on a sudden raised him up an enemy without power, without money, and without right* (according to my information), and without any reputation, but what his person and deportment contracted: for he had suffered much, had been in distress all the days of his life, and particularly as prisoner in Bretagne to Duke Francis, from the eighteenth year of his age, who treated him as kindly as the necessity of his imprisonment would permit. The king of France having supplied him with some money, and about 3000 Normans, the loosest and most profligate persons in all that country, he passed into Wales, where his

* "If no other right is to be allowed but what we call hereditary, in the strict meaning of it, 'tis certain Henry the Seventh had none; since he claimed under his mother, who was then alive, and even outlived him, without ever renouncing. And if we should look farther back into his descent, we should find it so far from being clear in his favour, that quite the contrary will appear to us from history."

father-in-law, the Lord Stanley, joined him with 26,000 men at the least. In three or four days time he met the bloody King Richard, fought him, slew him in the field of battle, crowned himself king of England, and reigns at this present time.

"I have discoursed on this subject already, but it is not improper to mention it again, if only to shew, that God, in our time, hath taken vengeance for such cruelties, immediately, without delaying his judgement. Several other princes, besides, have met with the same reward of their villanies, in our days, had we but leisure to enumerate them."

REMARKABLE EVENTS

Which took place in England and France, A. D. 1460. *Such as Prodigies, Executions, &c. &c: Also an Account of the Death and Funeral of the King of France, Charles the Seventh, and of the succession of his son, Lewis the Eleventh. —From the Scandalous Chronicle, or Secret History of Lewis the Eleventh.*

"About this time several poor indigent wretches that were guilty of thieving, sacrilege, house-

breaking, and other enormous crimes, were made examples of, and several were severely punished at Paris; amongst whom some were only whipped at the cart's tail, and afterwards pardoned, as being their first offence; and others who were old offenders, and had been often guilty of crimes of the like nature, were condemned to be hanged, and were executed accordingly.

"Amongst whom also was a certain woman, named Perrette Mauger, who was condemned to be burnt alive, for having committed several robberies, and for harbouring and concealing many notorious thieves and housebreakers, who had committed divers robberies in and about Paris, and elsewhere. As also for having sold and disposed of the said goods that were stolen by those thieves, and sharing with them the money which arose from the sale thereof. For which crimes, and several other beside, she was condemned by the Mayor of Paris to be burnt alive at the stake before the gallows, and all her goods and chattles to be forfeited to the king.

"From which sentence she formally appealed to the Court of Parliament, upon account of which appeal her execution was deferred for some time; but after the parliament had examined into her trial, they confirmed the above-mentioned sentence; and having declared that the said Perrette Mauger had no manner of grounds for her appeal, ordered it immediately to be executed. Upon

which she declared herself with child, and presently a jury of matrons were impanneled, which delayed the execution a little longer. But the matrons and midwives, upon a strict examination, declared the assertion to be groundless; upon which information, she was immediately ordered to be burnt before the gallows, by Henry Cousin, hangman of Paris.

"At that same time there was a great noise and discourse all over the kingdom of France, and other places, of a young girl of about eighteen years of age, who lived in the city of Mans, and played several ridiculous pranks and follies; such as foaming at the mouth, leaping into the air, screaming out aloud, putting her body into a thousand convulsive motions, and pretending to be tormented by the Devil; by which antic tricks, and several others, too tedious to mention here, she imposed upon, and cheated abundance of people who came to see her. But at last she was discovered to be an idle hussey, and that she played all her devilish pranks, by the instigation and countenance of some of the officers belonging to the Bishop of Mans, who maintained her for that purpose, and had so far brought her to their becks, that she would do any thing they bid her; and they had trained her up from her infancy to play these pranks.

"About this period it also happened in England, some time after the Earl of Warwick's seiz-

ing upon the person of King Henry the Sixth, that the Duke of Somerset, the king's cousin, in conjunction with several young noblemen, relations and heirs to those who were slain at the taking of King Henry, having got together a considerable body of men, took the field, and marched directly against the Duke of York, and found him encamped in the plains of St. Alban's,* where they gave him battle, and cut him and his whole army to pieces. In this battle the Duke of York was slain himself, and, when his body was found, they cut off his head, and by way of derision, because he pretended to the crown of England, they fixed it upon the point of a lance, and put a crown of straw, in the form of a royal crown, upon it. With him fell in the battle six and twenty barons, knights, esquires, and persons of note in the kingdom, besides a great number of common soldiers, amounting in all to above eight or nine thousand men."

* The battle was not fought at St. Alban's, but at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, on the 30th of December, 1460—in which the Duke of York was killed, and, in derision, a crown of paper (not straw) was put upon his head;—after it was cut off, and presented to Queen Margaret, who not long after sent it, with the heads of other lords, to be fixed on poles over the gates of the city of York. The person who committed this ungenerous action was the Lord Clifford—who afterwards, in cold blood, murdered the young Earl of Rutland, the duke's third son.

"In this year the rivers of Seine and Marne were swoln so prodigiously, that, in one night's time, the Marne rose above six feet high about St. Maur des Fossey, and did a great deal of damage in several places; but among the rest, the river came up so high in a village called Claye, in which there was a palace belonging to the bishop of Maux, that it washed away all the brick work of the front of it, where there were two stately towers, newly erected, in which there were fine and large apartments, richly furnished, and adorned with tapestry, pictures, &c. but the river swept away all," &c. &c.

"About that time it also happened, that the body of the church of Fescamp, in Normandy, was burnt down to the ground, by a fiery exhalation that came from the sea, towards the marshes of Cornwall, and caught hold of the steeple of the said abbey, which was quite consumed, and all the bells melted down, to the great loss and detriment of the abbot, and his whole fraternity," &c. &c.

"But it was very observable, that on the 23d of July, 1461, which was the next day after the king's death (Charles the Seventh of France), a large blazing star was seen in the sky, about seven o'clock at night, which cast such a glaring and

resplendent light through the air, that all Paris seemed to be in a flame; but Heaven in its mercy has been still pleased to preserve that good city.

"On Thursday the sixth of August, 1461, the body of the late king, Charles the Seventh, was brought from Meum, with great solemnity, to the church of Notre Dame in the Fields, without the gates of Paris; and, the next day, the clergy, nobility, officers, citizens, and abundance of the populace, repaired thither, and conducted it from thence to Paris, with a great deal of pomp, ceremony, and respect, as is usual upon such occasions. The funeral procession was thus regulated:—Before the corpse was borne two hundred wax candles, of four pounds each, adorned and painted with the arms of France, and carried by two hundred inferior persons, dressed in long mourning robes and black caps; the body was borne in a litter, by the salt porters of Paris, which litter was lined and covered with a rich cloth of gold, valued at one thousand two hundred crowns of gold, and upon the top of it was placed the effigies of the late King Charles, dressed in his royal robes, with a crown on his head, holding in one hand a sceptre, and in the other a regal truncheon; and in this state it was carried to the great church of Notre Dame, in Paris: all the bellmen of the city, cloathed also in black, and bearing on each side of their gowns the arms of

France, marching before it, and after them came those who bore the candles, adorned and painted with the same arms, before the litter.

"After the litter came the Duke of Orleans, and the Count d'Angouleme, as chief mourners, accompanied by the Counts d'Eu, and Dunois, M. John Jonvenelle des Voisins, Knight and Chancellor of France, and the Master of the Horse, all clothed in deep mourning, and mounted on horseback; next to them marched all the officers to the household of the late king, on foot, by two and two, dressed in deep mourning also, and close to the litter rode six pages, in black, upon six fine black horses, covered all over with black velvet, which was a very dismal and melancholy sight to behold. And there was such an universal concern and lamentation for his death, that scarce a dry eye was left in the whole city. Nay, it is reported, that one of his pages took his master's death so much to heart, that for four whole days together he neither ate or drank any thing.

"The next day (which was the ninth of August) the body was removed from the church of Notre Dame in Paris, about three in the afternoon, and carried with the above mentioned pomp and ceremony to St. Dennis, where it was deposited, and where it now lies."

"Towards the end of this month our most gracious Sovereign, Lewis the Eleventh, was crown-

ed king of France. And upon the last of this month (August) he set out in order to make his public entry into Paris, upon which the whole body of the nobility, clergy, and gentry, came out to pay their homage to him, and welcome him to their city; amongst whom were the bishop of Paris, the whole University, the Court of Parliament, the Mayor of Paris, all the Officers of the Exchequer, and the Provost of Merchants, with the Aldermen, in their damask robes, lined with sables. And the Mayor and Aldermen, after they had saluted and paid their respects to the king, presented him with the keys of the city gates, through which he was to make his entry; which he very graciously returned, and then the way was ordered to be cleared, and make room for others to approach his Majesty, and make their compliments to him, of which number he made a great many knights on the spot.

"As the king passed through the gates of St. Dennis, he found near the church of St. Andre an herald mounted on horseback, and clothed in the city livery; who presented him with five ladies, on the part of the city, richly dressed and mounted on five fine horses, sumptuously accoutred, with rich furniture, on which were embroidered the city arms: and these five ladies were habited, after a sort of manner, representing the five letters of Paris, and every one of them made a speech to the king, which was prepared for them beforehand.

"There was a very great appearance, at the king's public entrance into Paris, both of his own nobility, and of foreign princes and noblemen, amongst whom were the Dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Cleves; the Counts de Charolois, the duke of Burgundy's eldest son; the Counts de Angoulesme, St. Paul, and Dunois, besides several other Earls, Barons, Knights, Captains, and a great number of persons of note and distinction, who, in honour of the day, and to augment the splendour and magnificence of the triumphal entry, had bestowed vast sums in rich and costly furniture, with which their horses were caparisoned; some of their housings were of the richest cloth of gold, made after different fashions, and lined with sables; others were made of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, or with rich damask, embroidered with gold and silver, and hung round with great silver bells, which were of considerable value; and, upon the horses, rode fine young pages, the very flower of youth and beauty, richly dressed, and wearing an embroidered scarf over their shoulders, which hung down to the crupper, and made a very gallant and noble shew.

"The Parisians, on this occasion, caused a very fine ship to be cast in silver, which was borne aloft on men's shoulders, and just as the king made his entry through the gate of St. Dennis, it was placed upon the draw-bridge near the said gate, to represent the city arms. In it were

placed three persons, representing the three estates of the kingdom, and in the stern and in the poop sat two more, personating Justice and Equity, and out of the scuttle, which was formed in the shape of the Flower-de-luce, issued a king, dressed in royal robes, and attended by two angels. A little further, at the Fountain du Ponceau, there were wild men, that played the parts of Gladiators, and near them were three handsome wenches, nearly naked, representing mermaids, with lovely bosoms, a glorious sight! sporting and singing gay enlivening airs, which were humoured and accompanied with the melodious harmony of soft music. And to comfort and refresh the people, there were several pipes in the said fountain, that ran milk, wine, and hippocras, of which every one drank what he pleased; and a little below the fountain, the Passion of our Saviour was represented as he was crucified between two Thieves.

At a little distance from this crucifix, there was posted a band of men, richly dressed, representing hunters, that had just ran down a stag, whose death was accompanied with the melodious noise of dogs and horns; and in the Rue de Bonchirie, there were large scaffolds erected, in the form of the Bastile at Dieppe. And when the king was passed by them, the English who were within the Bastile were furiously attacked by the king's soldiers, taken prisoners, and had all their throats

cut. Opposite to the gate of the Chastelles there was a fine appearance of persons of quality; all the windows were hung with rich tapestry, and the streets through which the king passed were crowded with a prodigious number of people. In this pompous manner he proceeded to the church of Notre Dame, and having performed his devotions to the Blessed Virgin, he returned to his Royal Palace, where he had a splendid and magnificent entertainment, and lay there that night; thus ended this memorable day."

Of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, slain in a Battle between him and the Duke of Lorrain, near Nancy.

As a mysterious uncertainty concerning the fate of this Prince has been entertained by many historians, in the same manner that it has been in respect to James the Fourth of Scotland, Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, and many other celebrated heroes of antiquity, in consequence of their bodies not having been found on the field of battle amongst the slain, will most probably render the following detail of the death, and the finding the body of the Duke, with a description of the

particular marks on his person, which distinguished him and proved his identity, interesting. They were sufficiently forcible (it appears) to satisfy the doubts of the Lord of Argenton, who served so long under him, and knew him so perfectly well.

A. D. 1476.

"The Duke of Burgundy having intelligence of the approach of the Duke of Lorrain's army, called a kind of council, contrary to his custom, for generally he followed his own will, and consulted with none of his officers. It was the opinion of most of them, that his best way would be to retire to Pont-a-Mouson, that was not far off, and dispose his army in the towns about Nancy, affirming, that as soon as the Germans had thrown in a supply of men and provisions into Nancy, they would march off again, and the Duke of Lorrain being in great want of money, it would be a great while before he would be able to assemble such an army again; and that their supplies of provision were not so great, but before half the winter was over they would be in the same streights as now, &c. &c.

"But God was not so merciful to him as to permit him to take the wise council which was offered him, or to discern the vast multitude of enemies which on every side surrounded him. Therefore he chose the worst, followed the advice of rash

and inconsiderate counsellors, and was resolved to try his fortune, and engage the enemy with his weak and shattered army, notwithstanding the Duke of Lorrain's was numerous, and the king's army not far off, &c. &c.

"The German army marched forward, and with them a considerable body of our French horse, whom the king had given leave to be present at the action. Several parties lay in ambush not far off, that if the Duke of Burgundy was routed, they might surprize some persons of quality, or take some considerable booty. By this, every one may see into what a deplorable condition this poor Duke had brought himself to, by his contempt of good council. Both armies being joined, the Duke of Burgundy's forces having been twice beaten before, and by consequence weak and dispirited, and ill provided besides, were quickly broken and entirely defeated. Many saved themselves and got off, the rest were either taken, or killed; and among them the Duke of Burgundy* himself was killed on the spot. Not being in the battle myself, I will say nothing of the manner, but I was told by some that they saw him beat down among the crowd of those that

* "The duke of Burgundy received three wounds in this battle; one in the side of the head, with a halbert, that clove his skull in two; another with a pike, in the groin; and a third near the fundament."—Annal Burgund.

fled; but being prisoners themselves, they were not in a condition to assist him; yet, whilst they were in sight, he was not killed, but a great body of men coming that way afterward, they killed and stripped him* in the throng, not knowing who he was. This battle was fought upon the fifth of January, 1476, upon Twelfth-Eve."

"The Burgundian army being thus repulsed and entirely defeated, so that the foot began to give ground and run away, the horse presently followed them, and endeavoured to make their escape by the Bridge of Bridores, which was about a league from Nancy. But the pass being secured by a good body of troops, and the Duke of Lorrain and his men following them close at

* One Monsieur Claude of Bausmont, Captain of the Castle of Dier in Lorrain, killed the duke of Burgundy.—For finding his army routed, he mounted a swift horse, and endeavouring to swim a little river, in order to make his escape, his horse fell with him and overset him. The duke cryed out for quarter to this gentleman who was pursuing him, but he being deaf, and not hearing him, immediately killed and stripped him, not knowing who he was, and left him naked in the ditch, where his body was found the next day after the battle; which the duke of Lorrain, to his eternal honour, buried with great pomp and magnificence, in St. George's Church, in the old town of Nancy, himself and all his nobility, in deep mourning, attending his corpse to the grave; and some time afterwards a Latin epitaph was engraved on his tomb.

the heels, vast numbers of them threw themselves, or were driven into the river, where they were drowned, and the rest were either killed or taken, very few, or none, making their escapes. So that there was a greater number killed on the rout, than on the field of battle.

" Some of the Burgundians, finding they could not get over the bridge, retired to the woods, in hopes of saving themselves; but they were pursued thither by the peasants of the country, who killed them as fast as they could find them, so that for four leagues round, the fields and highways were strewed with the bodies of dead men.

" The pursuit lasted till two hours after night, and then the Duke of Lorrain began to enquire what was become of the Duke of Burgundy; whether he had made his escape, or was taken prisoner, or was killed? But nobody could give any account of him, and immediately the Duke of Lorraine dispatched a certain person to one John Dias, of the City of Metz, to know if he had passed through that place in his retreat. Who sent his highness word the next morning that he had not; that he was not at Luxembourg, neither could any body tell what was become of him. On Monday, which was Twelfth-day, the Count di Campobasso met with a page, who was taken prisoner, belonging to the Count de Chalon, who was with the Duke of Burgundy in the battle. This lad, upon

examination, confessed that the Duke of Burgundy was dead, as he saw him killed; and the next day, upon diligent searching after him, they found him stripped start naked, and the bodies of fourteen men more, in the same condition, at some distance from each other.

"The Duke was wounded in three places, and his body was known and distinguished from the rest, by six particular marks; the chiefest of which was, the want of his upper teeth before, which were beaten out by a fall; the second was a scar in his throat, occasioned by a wound he received at the battle of Mont l'Hery; the third, was his great nails, which he always wore longer than any of his courtiers; the fourth, was another scar, upon his left shoulder; the fifth, was a fistula in his right groin; and the last was a remarkable nail, which grew upon his little toe. And upon seeing all these above-mentioned marks upon the body, his physician, the Gentlemen of the Bed Chamber, the Bastard of Burgundy, M. Oliver de la Marche, his chaplain, and several other officers, that were taken prisoners by the Duke of Lorrain, unanimously agreed that it was the body of their lord and master, the Duke of Burgundy."

Of two Military Men, of great note, in the time of King John.

"In military matters there were many famous men in the reign of King John: as, Robert Fitz Roger, and Richard Mount Fitcher, and many others; but chiefly two, whose acts make them especially memorable.

"The one was Hubert Burge, whom King John had left Governor of Dover Castle; of whom it is related, that when the Prince, Lewis of France, came to take the town, and found it difficult to be taken by force, he sent to Hubert, whose brother Thomas he had taken prisoner a little before, that unless he would surrender the castle, he should presently see his brother Thomas be put to death, with exquisite torments, before his eyes. But this threatening moved not Hubert at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, than his brother's life. Then Prince Lewis sent back again, offering him a great sum of money, and many high honours, but neither did this move, for he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his castle.

"The other was Robert Fitz Walter, of whom it is related, that King John, being with an army in France, one of his knights, in great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the French camp, that durst encounter him in single combat;

when presently comes forth this Robert Fitz Walter, and in the encounter threw horse and man down to the ground; whereof, when King John heard, by God's tooth (said he) he were a king indeed, that had such a champion; whereupon, some that stood by, said to him, he is, sir, a servant of your own, it is Robert Fitz Walter, whom you have banished. Whereupon his sentence of banishment was presently reversed, and the king received him (as he so well deserved to be) into especial favour."

Baker's Chronicle.

Interesting incidents in the conduct of Lewis the Eleventh, of France; also of his superstition, of his tyranny, folly, and inconsistency. Extracted from the Memoir of Phillip De Commine, A. D. 1482.

"The king returning to Tours, kept himself so close shut up, that very few were admitted to see him, for he was grown jealous of all his courtiers, and afraid they would either depose, or deprive him of some part of his regal authority. He removed from about him all his old favourites, especially if they had had any extraordinary familiarity

with him, but he took nothing from them, only commanded them to their posts, or country seats. He did likewise many odd things, which made some believe his senses were a little impaired; but they knew not his humour, or the jealousy to which all princes are prone to, so that it is no wonder if he entertained such jealousies and fear of his subjects, and fancied he was not beloved by them; yet, as he was fearful in this case, so had he confidence likewise in several, who had been brought up and received their preferments under him; of which he might have found many, who would have died before they would have forsaken him in any thing. In the first place, nobody was admitted into Plessis Du Pare, (which was the place where he kept himself) but his domestic servants, and his archers, which were about four hundred; some of which kept constant guard at the gate, whilst others walked continually about, to prevent its being surprized. No lord, or person of quality, was permitted to lie in the castle, nor to enter with any of his retinue; nor indeed did any of them come in, but the Lord Beaujene, the present Duke of Bourbon, who was his son-in-law.

"Round about the Castle of Plessis, he caused a lattice, or iron gate, to be set up, spikes of iron plaited in the walls, and a kind of crow's feet of the same, with several points, to be placed along the ditch, wherever there was a possibility for any

person to enter; besides which, he caused four watch-houses to be made, all of thick iron, and full of holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, (and cost above twenty thousand franks) in which he placed forty of his cross bows, who were to be upon the guard night and day, with orders to let fly upon any man that offered to come near before the hour of opening the gate in the morning. He also persuaded himself, that his subjects would be mighty of divesting him of his power, and taking the administration of affairs upon themselves, when they saw opportunity. He often changed the gentlemen of his bed chamber, and all the rest of his servants, alledging, that there was nothing so delightful to nature, as novelty; and kept none about him for conversation, but one, or two, and those of inferior condition, and of no great reputation.

"But now, wishing to see some man renowned for devotion and sanctity of life, he sent into Calabria, for one Friar Robert, whom, for the holiness and purity of conversation, the king called the Holy Man; and in honour to him, our present king erected a monastery at Plessis Du Pare. This hermit, at the age of twelve years, was put into a hole in a rock, where he lived forty-three years, and upwards, till the king sent for him, by the Steward of his Household, in the company of the Prince of Tarante, son to the king of Naples. But this hermit would not stir without leave from

his holiness, and from his king, which was great discretion in a man so inexperienced in the ways of the world as he was. He built two churches in the place where he lived; he never eat flesh, fish, eggs, milk, or any thing that was fat, since he undertook that austerity of life; and truly I never saw any man living so holy, nor out of whose mouth the Holy Ghost did more manifestly speak; for he was illiterate, and no scholar, and only had his Italian tongue, with which he made himself so much admired. This hermit passed through Naples, where he was respected, and visited, (with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the Pope's legate) both by the king of Naples and his children; with whom he conversed, as if he had been all the days of his life a courtier. From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by the Cardinals, had audience three times of the Pope, and was every time alone with him for three or four hours, sitting always in a rich chair, placed on purpose for him, (which was great honour for a person of his private capacity) and answering so discreetly to every thing that was asked him, that every body was extremely astonished at it; and his Holiness granted him leave to erect a new order, called the Hermits of St. Francis. From Rome he came to our king, who paid him the same adoration as he would have done to the Pope himself, falling down upon his knees before him, and begging him to heal his sickness, and prolong his

life; he replied as a prudent man ought. I have heard him often in discourse with the king that now is, and that not above two months ago, and it seemed to me, that whatever he said, or remonstrated, was done by inspiration, or else it were impossible for him to have spoken of some things that he discoursed of: he is still living, and may grow either better or worse, and therefore I will say no more. There were some of the courtiers who made a jest of the king's sending for the hermit, and called him the Holy Man, by way of banter; but they knew not the thoughts of that wise king, nor had they seen what induced them to do it.

"Our king was still at Plessis with little company but his archers, and the jealousies mentioned before, against which he most carefully provided, for he left no person, of whom he had any suspicion, either in town or country, but he sent his archers, not only to warn, but to conduct them away; no business was communicated to him, but what was of great importance and nearly concerned him. To look upon him, one would have thought him rather a dead man than a living one. He was grown so lean, it was scarce credible: his cloaths were now richer and more magnificent than they had ever been before; his gowns were all of crimson sattin, lined with rich martins' furs, of which he gave to several, without being demanded; for no person durst ask him a favour, or

scarce speak to him of any thing. He inflicted very severe punishments, for fear of losing his authority, as he told me himself. He removed officers, disbanded soldiers, retrenched pensions, or took them quite away; so that, as he told me, not many days before his death, he had passed away his time in making and ruining of men.

"In these strange fancies, he caused many fine horses and mules to be bought, at any price whatever: he had a mighty curiosity for dogs, and sent into foreign countries for them, (as well as for his horses), into Spain for one sort, into Bretagne for another, to Valentia for a third; and bought them dearer than the people asked. He sent into Sicily to buy a mule of a private officer of that country, and paid him double the value. At Naples he caused all the horses and strange creatures to be bought up that could be found; and, in Barbary, a sort of lions, no bigger than a fox, which he called adits; he sent into Sweden and Denmark for two sorts of beasts those countries afforded, one of them called an elk, of the shape of a stag, and the bigness of a buffalo, with short and thick horns; the other called rengiero, of the shape and colour of the fallow deer, but their heads much larger, for each of which he gave the merchants 4500 Dutch florins. Yet when all these rarities were brought him, he never valued them, and many times would not so much as see the persons who brought them to his Court."

Further particulars, of the Death of Lewis the Eleventh, with many moral and just comparisons between the sufferings of common individuals and Princes, &c. &c. By Phillip de Commine, 1482.

" I cannot forbear in this place from making a comparison between the evils and sorrows, which this king brought upon others, and that which he suffered in his own person: but I hope his torments and sufferings here on earth have translated him into paradise, and will be a part of his purgatory.—And if, in respect to their greatness and duration, his sufferings were inferior to what he had brought upon other people, yet if you consider the grandeur and dignity of his office, and likewise that he had never before suffered any thing in his own person, but had been obeyed by all people, as if all Europe had been created for no other end but to serve and to be commanded by him, you will find the little which he did endure, was so contrary to his nature and custom, that he was as great a sufferer as any. His great hope and confidence was placed in the holy hermit I have before spoken of, who came from Calabria, and was as yet remaining in the Castle of Plessis;—he sent continually to him, believing it was in his power to prolong his life if he pleased.

"Finding his thoughts were so intent upon this hermit, it was the advice of a certain grave divine, and others who were about him, that it should be declared to him, that his condition was desperate, and that he did but flatter and delude himself, for that there was no hope left but in the mercy of God; it was also agreed amongst them, that his physician, Doctor James Coctier, (in whom he had the greatest confidence), should be present when this declaration was made to him. This doctor received from him every month 10,000 crowns, as if that would have lengthened his life. This resolution was taken by Monsieur Oliver, to the end that he should lay aside all thoughts of hermit, or doctor, and apply himself wholly to the settlement of his conscience. As he had advanced this Monsieur Oliver, and others, in an instant, and against all reason, to employments beyond their capacities, so they took upon them impudently to open to him an affair which had been more proper for other people: nor did they observe that reverence and respect toward the king, which, in such a case, would have been deemed necessary by those whom his whim lately removed from his presence. But as he had sent a sharp message of death to two great persons, whom he had formerly beheaded (the Duke de Namours and the Count de St. Paul), by commissioners deputed on purpose, who, in plain terms, told them their sentence, appointed them confes-

sors, and acquainted them, that in a few hours they must prepare to die—so with the same bluntness, and without the least circumstance of introduction, these imprudent people said to him:—'Sir, things are now come to that pass, we must do our duties; do not place your hopes any longer on this hermit, or any thing else, for you are a dead man. Think, therefore, upon your conscience, for that is the only remedy you have now left.' Every one added some short saying to the same purpose, to all of which he answered—'I hope God will assist me, for perhaps I am not so sick as you may imagine.'

"What inexpressible sorrow was this to him to hear this news, this sentence of death? Never man was more fearful of death, nor used more means to prevent it, than he did. He had all along commanded and requested his servants, and me, amongst the rest, that whenever we saw him in any danger of death, that we should not use any long stories, but admonish him at a distance, to confess himself, without ever mentioning that cruel and shocking word Death—which he did not believe he should be able to hear with any tolerable patience: however, he was forced to endure that, and many more things as terrible, &c.

"The king was still attended by his physician, Doctor James Coctier (on whom he bestowed treasures and honours on his family beyond all bounds); yet this doctor used him so scurvily,

one would not have given such unbecoming language to one's servants; for he had told him one day, after a most audacious manner, 'I know that some time or other you will remove me from your Court, as you have done all the rest: but be sure (and he confirmed it with an oath) your life shall not continue eight days after it.' With which expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and present him with rich gifts, which must needs be a great mortification to a prince who had been obeyed all along, by so many great and brave men, so much above the doctor's quality.

"The king had ordered several cruel prisons to be made, some of iron, and some of wood, but covered with iron plates both within and without, with terrible cages, about eight feet wide and seven feet high; the first contriver of them was the Bishop of Verdun, who was the first that handeled them, being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen years. Many bitter curses he has since had for his invention, and some from me, having lain in one of them for eight months together. He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly a certain ring for the feet, which was extreme hard to be opened, and like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain, and a great globe of iron at the end of it, most unreasonably heavy; which engines were called, the King's Nets; in

which nets, however, I have seen many worthy and deserving persons, and some who afterwards were promoted to very high honours.

"As in his time this barbarous variety of prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater torment, and more terrific apprehensions, than any of those he had imprisoned: which I look on as a great mercy towards him, and a part of his purgatory; and I have mentioned it here, to shew that there is no person, of what station or dignity whatever, but is punished at some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has been the cause of other people's suffering and misfortunes, &c. &c.

"Having had occasion previously to relate in what manner he fortified and guarded his Palace of Plessis les Tours, which he caused to be encompassed with great bars of iron, in the form of a grate, and at the four corners of the house four watch towers of iron, strong, massy, and thick to be built, and every precaution used within the walls, as in a town upon the frontiers that was closely besieged; I may justly say, was it possible then to keep a prince (with any regard to his quality) more strictly confined than he kept himself? The cages which were made for other people were about eight feet square, and he, though so great a monarch, had but a small court of the Castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that, but generally kept himself in the gallery, out of

which he went into his chamber, and from thence to mass, but not through the court. Who then can deny that he was a sufferer as well as his neighbours? Considering his being locked up, and guarded, afraid of his own children and relations, and changing every day those servants whom he had brought up and advanced, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up, in those strange chains and enclosures: the fears, apprehension, and sufferings of his mind, being a punishment greater than could be expressed.

"After all these terrors, sorrows, and suspicions, God, by a kind of miracle, restored him both in body and mind, as is his divine method in such kind of wonders. He took him at last out of the world in perfect ease, understanding, and memory, and discoursing, without the least twinge or expression of pain, to the very last moment of his life: and declared, that he desired to die on a Saturday, of all the days in the week, and that he hoped our Lady would procure him that favour.—And so it happened, for he died on Saturday the thirteenth of August, 1483.—And his soul, I hope, is with God, and enjoys an everlasting rest in the kingdom of Paradise."

A moral digression from the same politic and observing Author—Of the generally fatal consequence attendant on the personal interviews of Kings—And an account of an entertainment given by the King of France to King Edward the Fourth and his soldiers, 1468. *Reign of Lewis the Eleventh of France.*

"It is the highest act of imprudence for two great princes to admit of an interview, unless it be in their youth, when their minds are wholly taken up with entertainments of mirth and pleasure; but when they are come to years of emulation, their jealousies are apt to encrease upon every slight occasion, and though their persons should be in no danger* (which is almost impossi-

* History furnishes abundance of examples of treachery and perfidiousness that have been practised at such interviews. The first we meet with in the Roman history, is that of Jugurtha, who was taken by his father-in-law Bocchus, and delivered up to the Romans; to which we may add Sertorius, who was slain at a banquet by Perpeima. In England, the treason of Hengist and Vortigen is well known to all that have read any thing of history. The Scottish Chronicle mentions the assassination of one William, Earl of Douglas, and his brother, who were killed at a treaty by King James of Scotland. In Germany, one Albret, Earl of Franconnia, was betrayed by Otho, Bishop of Mentz. John of Anjou was slain by Alburtus Bavarus, Earl of Hainault and Flanders, not-

ble), yet their heart-burnings and animosities will certainly encrease. It were better therefore, that they accommodated their differences by the mediation of wise and faithful ministers. However, I will give some examples of the like nature in my own time, part of which I have seen myself, and the rest have been informed of, by very good hands.

"Not many years after the coronation of our king, there was an interview between the kings of France and Castile, princes of the nearest alliance in Christendom, for the kings are akin, their kingdoms almost contiguous, and their subjects bound by oaths and execrations to preserve faith inviola-

withstanding he gave him a passport, and engaged his honour as a security for his person. In France, John, Duke of Bugundy, was slain by Charles the Seventh; William, Duke of Normandy, by Arnalph, Earl of Flanders; Lewis, King of France, taken prisoner by the Normans and Danes, at Roan. John, Duke of Bretagne, taken prisoner at a banquet, and imprisoned by Margaret, Countess of Pontibera. Guido, Earl of Flanders, twice taken prisoner, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct, by Phillip the Fair, King of France. Charles the Simple, slain by the Earl of Vermandois. In short, it would be endless to reckon up all the villanous and barbarous murders that have been committed in these fatal interviews between great and jealous princes, which are recorded in history, from the beginning of the world, and acted in it, in all places; but more particularly at such meetings where the greatest confidence and reliance have been placed in one party by the other, and by that means exposed to artful and cruel designs.

ble. To this interview Henry, king of Castile, came to Fontarabia very splendidly attended; and the king of France came to St. John de Luz, (about four leagues distance,) and each of them were upon the very borders of their kingdoms; there was present also the Count de Lodesme (that king's favourite) in great splendour, with his guard, consisting of three hundred horse, all Moors, of Grenada, or negroes. It is true indeed, that King Henry was a person of no great sense, for he had either given away all his patrimony, or suffered it to be taken or embezzled by any body that had a mind to it. Our king was also well attended, and his guards made a glorious appearance, &c. &c.

"To continue our proposition, that the interview of great princes is not necessary, but rather dangerous, you must know, that these two kings had never had any quarrel, neither was there the least difference between them, they never saw one another above once, and staid no longer together than the great master of St. James's, and the Archbishop of Toledo, thought good; which, being observed by the king of France, he desired their acquaintance, and they went to wait on him at St. John de Luz. His majesty received them very honourably, and a mighty friendship and intelligence was settled with them and the king of France, who immediately began to dislike the king of Castile, and the king of Castile had but

little value or esteem for him. The greatest part of their attendants were quartered at Bayonne, amongst whom several quarrels immediately arose, notwithstanding the alliance, and the difference of their language.

"The Count de Lodesme passed the river in a boat, whose sail was of cloth of gold; he was himself in a pair of buskins, set thick with precious stones, in which he went to wait on the king. Several jests and scoffs happened at this time between these two nations; the king of Castile's person was homely, and his dress did not please the French, who laughed at and derided both. Our king wore a short coat, as ill made as was possible; sometimes he wore very coarse cloth, and particularly then, his hat was old, and differing from every body else, by an image of lead which he carried upon it. The Castilians laughed as heartily at his dress, supposing it his covetousness. In short, the Convention broke up and they parted, but with such scorn and contempt, on both sides, that the two kings never loved one another afterwards.

"Since that time, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with great labour and solicitation, obtained an interview with the Emperor Frederic, (who is still living) and expended vast sums of money to shew his grandeur and magnificence. A meeting was at length agreed upon, and after they had been several days together, on a sudden the emperor

departed, without so much as taking his leave, which the Duke of Burgundy looked upon as a very great affront, and was so generally resented, that there was never afterwards any true love between either themselves or their subjects. The duke's pompous and lofty manner of speaking offended the Germans, and the emperor's meanness, both in his train and dress, appeared as contemptible to the Burgundians, and so far was this accident extended, that from it alone the wars of Nury had their original.

"I was also present at an interview at the town of St. Paul, in Artois, between the Duke of Burgundy and Edward, the fourth king of England, whose sister he had married, and besides they were brethren of the same order. They were but two days together, and yet in that small time, there was great differences between the princes' servants, and both parties recommending their quarrel to the duke, and he deciding it for the one, their hatred encreased, and though the duke did some good offices to the king in his distress, yet, notwithstanding they never loved, nor spoke well of each other, after this interview.

"I was present likewise when the Count Palatine of the Rhine made a visit to the Duke of Burgundy, at Brussels, where he staid several days; he was honourably received, nobly entertained, and lodged in an apartment richly furnished. The duke's servants upbraided the Ger-

mans for their dirtyness and incivility, in laying their clothes and their mired boots upon the magnificent and costly beds, and accusing them of want of neatness and consideration. The Germans equally dissatisfied, on the other side, reproached them for their pomp and extravagance; so that in effect they never liked, or did any good office for one another afterwards.

"I also was at the interview at Picquiny, (near Amiens) between our king and Edward the Fourth, king of England, in which I must say I observed that scarce any thing was performed that was promised there, the whole business that was carried on was hypocrisy and dissimulation; and never was real friendship or good understanding between them afterwards. To conclude, if great princes have a desire to continue friends, they ought never to meet, and the reasons are these; courtiers cannot forbear reflecting upon past actions, and one or other will be sure to take exception, as it happened at Venice, when Henry the Third, king of France, made his public entry into that city, the French laughed at and ridiculed the Venetian dress, upon which they had like to have gone together by the ears. Neither is it possible to hinder the train and equipage of the one, from being finer and more magnificent than the other; which produces mockery, and nothing touches any person more sensibly, than to be laughed at. The Princes likewise, being of different nations, their

language and habits are also very different, and that which pleases one, will not please the other. Besides, it often happens, that amongst the Princes themselves, the presence of one is more obliging and acceptable, which gains him honour and reputation, and every body extols him; which cannot be done without reflecting on the other, and causing endless jealousies, envy, and (sooner or later) a fatal revenge."

"Our king sent to the king of England (who was advanced within half a league of Amiens) three hundred cart loads of the best wines in France, as a present, and I think the carts made as great an appearance as the whole English army, (who, to speak impartially, were but raw and unfit for action in the field, for they were in very ill order, and observed no manner of discipline). Upon the strength of the truce, several of the English came into the town, where they behaved themselves very imprudently, and without the least regard to their prince's honour; for they entered the town all armed, and in great companies, so that if the king of France could have dispensed with his oath, never was there so handsome an opportunity of cutting off a considerable number of them; but his majesty's design was only to entertain them nobly, and to settle a firm and lasting peace.

"The king ordered two large tables to be

placed on each side of the street, at the entrance of the town gate, which were covered with a variety of nice dishes of all sorts of food, most proper to relish their wine, of which there was great plenty, and the richest that France could afford; and abundance of the king's servants, in his rich liveries, to wait and attend upon them; but not a drop of water did the English call for. At each of the tables the king had placed five or six jolly drinking companions, persons of rank and condition, to entertain those who had a mind to take a hearty glass; amongst whom were the Lord de Craon, the Lord de Brigubec, the Lord de Bresmes, the Lord de Villiers, and several others. Those English which were within sight of the gate, saw the entertainment; and there were persons appointed on purpose to take their horses by the bridles, and lead them to the tables, where every man was treated handsomely, as it came to his turn, to his very great satisfaction. When they had once entered the town, wherever they went, or whatever they called for, nothing was to be paid; they were liberally furnished with all that they wanted, and they had whatever they had a mind to call for, without paying for it, according to the king of France's orders, who bore all the expence of that entertainment, which lasted three or four days.

After this the interview between the two kings took place, when each swore to the truce

before concluded, when some were of opinion, that the Holy Ghost descended upon the king of England's tent, in the shape of a white pigeon.

"On the 29th of August, 1475, the two kings appeared. The king of France came first, attended with about eight hundred men at arms: on the king of England's side, his whole army was drawn up in order of battle; and though we could not discover their whole force, yet we saw such a vast number both of horse and foot, that the body of troops that were with us, seemed very inconsiderable in respect to them. It was given out, that twelve men of a side were to be with each of the kings, at the barrier, during this interview, and that they were already chosen out of the greatest and most intimate of their courts. With us, we had four of the king of England's party, to view what was done amongst us, and they had as many of ours on their side, to have an eye over their actions. As I have said, our king came first to the gate of the barrier, attended by about twelve persons of the greatest quality in France, amongst which, John, Duke of Bourbon, and the cardinal, his brother. It was the king's royal pleasure, (according to an old and common custom that he had) that I should be dressed like him that day. The king of England advanced along the causeway, very nobly attended, with the air and presence of a king; there was in his train, his brother, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumber-

land, his chamberlain, called the Lord Hastings, his chancellor, and other peers of his realm; amongst them there were not above four dressed in cloth of gold like himself: the king of England wore a black velvet cap upon his head, with a large fleur-de-lis made of precious stones upon it; he was a prince of a most noble and majestic presence, his person proper and strait, but a little inclining to fat; I had seen him before, when the Earl of Warwick drove him out of his kingdom, then I thought him much handsomer than now; for to the best of my remembrance, (at that time) my eyes had never beheld a more beautiful and commanding a person. When he came within a little distance of the rail, he pulled off his cap, and bowed himself within half a foot of the ground; and the king of France, who was then leaning over the barrier, received him with abundance of respect and reverence; they embraced through the holes of the grate, and the king of England, making him another low bow, the king of France saluted him thus:—

"'Cousin, you are heartily welcome, there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked, that this interview is upon so good an occasion.'

"The king of England returned his compliments in very good French; then the Chancellor of England made a long and eloquent harangue, which, after he had finished, the instrument was

produced which contained the articles the king of France had sent to the king of England. The chancellor then demanded of our king, whether he had sent the said articles, and whether he had agreed to them? The king replied, 'yes;' and king Edward's being produced on our side, he made the same answer. The missal being brought and opened, both the kings laid one of his hands upon the book, and the other upon the true cross, and both of them swore, religiously, to observe the contents of the truce, which was, that it should stand firm and good for nine years complete; that the allies on both sides should be comprehended; and that the marriage between their children should be consummated. After the two kings had thus sworn to observe the treaty, our king (who had always words at command) told the king of England, in a jocular way, he should be very glad to see his majesty at Paris; and that if he would come and divert himself with the ladies, he would assign him the Cardinal of Bourbon for his confessor, who he knew would willingly absolve him, if he should commit any sin, by way of love and gallantry.

"The king of England was extremely pleased with his raillery on this subject, and made his majesty several handsome, and very smart repartees, for he knew the cardinal was a jolly companion. After some gay discourse to this purpose, our king, to shew his authority, commanded us, who at-

tended him, to withdraw, for he had a mind to have a little private discourse with King Edward; we obeyed, and those who were with the king of England, seeing us retire, did the same, without expecting to be commanded. After the two kings had been alone together for some time, our master called me to him, and asked the king of England if he knew me? who replied, 'he did, named the places where he had seen me, and told the king that formerly I had endeavoured to serve him at Calais, when I was in the Duke of Burgundy's service.' By degrees the king came to mention the Duke of Bretagne, and demanded if he were to be comprehended in the treaty. The king of England desired he would not attempt any thing against the Duke of Bretagne, for, that in his distress, he had never found so true and faithful a friend, and that he never would forsake the care of a confederate, who had maintained his faith so constantly. And being further pressed, he gave this short but generous answer; 'that if any Prince invaded the Duke of Bretagne's dominions, he would cross the seas once more in his defence.'

"The king then said no more, but recalling the company, took his leave of King Edward in the handsomest and most polite terms imaginable, saluted all his attendants in a most particular manner, and both the kings at the same time retired from the barrier, and mounted on horseback; the king of France returned to Amiens, and the king

of England to his army. This king was accommodated out of the king of France's court, with whatever he wanted, to the very torches and candles. The Duke of Gloucester, king Edward's brother, was not present at this interview, as being averse to the treaty, but recollecting himself afterwards, the Duke of Gloucester waited on our master at Amiens, where he was splendidly entertained, and nobly presented, both with plate, and very fine horses.

"In the king's return from this interview, in our discourse by the way, he happened to fall upon two points, at which he was more than ordinarily concerned; one was, that the king of England was so ready, and so easy to be persuaded to come to Paris. This his majesty was not at all pleased with, and he told me, 'this king is a most beautiful prince, and a great admirer of the ladies, and who knows but some of them may appear to him so witty, so gay, so alluring, and charming, as may give him a desire to make a second visit. His predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already; and I do not care for his company so near, though on the other side of the water I should be ready to value and esteem him as my brother and my friend.'

"When King Lewis was arrived at Amiens, and ready to go to supper, three or four of the English Lords, who had attended upon the king of England at the interview, came to sup with his

Majesty; and the Lord Howard, being of the number, he told the king in his ear, that, if he desired it, it should go hard but he would find a way to bring his master to him at Amiens, and to Paris too, to be merry, and enjoy themselves together for some time. Though this proposition was not in the least agreeable to the king, yet his majesty dissembled the matter pretty well, and fell a washing his hands, without giving a direct answer: but he whispered me in the ear, and told me 'that what he suspected was at last come really to pass.' After supper, they fell upon that subject again, but the king put it off, with the greatest gentleness and wisdom imaginable, pretending his expedition against the Duke of Burgundy would require his departure immediately. Though these affairs were of very great importance, and great prudence was used on both sides to manage them discreetly, yet there were some pleasant occurrences amongst them worthy to be recorded to posterity. Nor ought any man to wonder (considering the great mischief which the English have brought upon this kingdom, and the freshness of their date) that the king of France should be at so much labour and expence to send them home in a friendly manner, that he might make them his friends for the future, or at least divert them from being enemies.

"The next day a great number of English came to Amiens, some of whom reported that the

Holy Ghost had made that peace, and prophecies were produced to confirm it; but their greatest argument to support this opinion was, because, during the time of the interview, a white pigeon came and sat upon the king of England's tent, and could not be frightened away by any noise they could make. But some gave another reason, which seemed to be much better than this ridiculous one, and that was, that a small shower of rain having fallen that day, and a while after the sun shining out very fair and warm, the poor pigeon, finding that tent higher than the rest, came thither only to dry her feathers in the sun, without any respect to the king of England whatever, or boding him either good or evil."

Phillip de Commines, Lord of Argenton.

Extracts from Mathew Paris—Of the high and noble revolution of the Welshmen, under the reign of Henry the Third.

"The Welsh, oppressed by Geoffrey de Langley (an officer upon the marches), rose in arms; but Prince Edward, to whom his father had given Wales, was left the rein to himself, to curb them as he could, for his father would spare him no

money. The Prince, therefore, borrowed some thousands of marks of his uncle Richard, and, with his own and them, waged soldiers: but his servants behaved themselves most violently every where, taking without payment, or paying with blows; and it was the humour of their young master also, who had store of martial and stirring fire in his bosom. The Welsh, therefore, would not, for any persuasions, be drawn to lay down weapons, but having about ten thousand of their country horsemen, and many more on foot, took a solemn oath—'that they would stand together for their liberties and ancient laws, holding it better to die with honour than to live a wretched life in shame and servitude.' And, indeed, they did great things under Prince Lewelyn ap Griffitch, by whose means they valiantly recovered all the inland country of North Wales, with other places, and in one fight slew above two thousand Englishmen, and drove the rest out of the field. They also spoiled the land, to the very gates of Chester.

"This they had the greater opportunity to do, for that the king, while he built kingdoms in the clouds, and plunged himself into the abysses of usury, suffered some few, his son, his brother, the Earl of Glocester, and his half brothers, with their families, to trample right and reason under foot, and, with his hatred, to enrich themselves; his own means daily consuming, and men's minds

more and more alienated from him, as men that despaired of redress and justice. The Welsh, also presisting in their enterprize, made Prince Edward retire in a battle, of which, when he, complaining to his father, had no other comfort but these words—

" 'What is all this to me? (said the king) the land is thine, of my free gift; put forth thy hand, in strength at first, and get honour in thy youth, that from henceforth thy enemies may stand in fear of thee; as for me, think not of my assistance, for I have somewhat else to do.' "

Extract from the same Author, the particulars of which he says he had from the King himself.

A. D. 1257. *(Henry the Third's reign.)*

" The greatest worldly foreign honour that (since Constantine) ever fell upon any English subject, was, at this time, in regard both his birth and riches, derived and tendered to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to the king, to whom was sent an honourable embassage out of Germany, who, in humble manner, declared, that the Princes of the sacred Roman Empire had elected him King of Romans, beseeching him to accept of that

their common choice. In testimony whereof, the Archbishop of Collein, High Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of Almaine, had sent their writings, under seal, affirming, 'that never was any one, with so general consent, and universal good liking, elected to that place as he, his name carrying it clearly, without any contradiction amongst them.'

"Upon receipt of this most honourable invitation and offer, there was much debatement in the chaple, where they sat upon the Earl's behalf, whether he would accept thereof or no; but, whilst all of them stood in doubt, the king puts in a deciding voice, saying—'Least my brother be thought faint hearted, my opinion and request is, that he would not refuse to accept this high honour, which God and man have tendered unto him.' This speech made the squadron of the negatives to give way, and, at least wise, to become neutrals, till all objections were answered, as they were all of them made, by one or other, concluding in their speeches to the Earl in this manner—'That he should be warned, and withall stirred up to the service of God, in acceptance of this highest place, by the example of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the First, king of England, to whom the kingdom of Jerusalem, for the intent to rule the inheritance of Christ, was offered; which he re-

fusing to accept, did afterwards feel the grievous wrath of God, and never had happy days after.'

"To these, and many other reasons, the king, his half brothers, and especially the bishop elect of Winchester, encouraged him; with one voice affirming, that this honour would exalt the English name for ever. The Earl, therefore, putting on the man, with a free and cheerful voice, answered—'And I, relying upon the goodness of Almighty God, though I am insufficient and unworthy of such mighty honour, to avoid the note of faintness, do thankfully accept this burden, though of high distinction, which Heaven (I hope) hath put into my hands.'—And then, turning himself to the bishops who were present, amongst whom Richard, Bishop of Bangor, (from whose mouth, as likewise from the king's, Mathew Paris says he had the information) was one, he concluded and said—'Let me, before I depart out of this chaple, die, and suddenly be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I do accept thereof either for ambition or avarice, but only to restore the Empire (which God grant) to a better estate, and to govern them, who have willingly elected me for their Lord, in modest, just, and honourable manner.'

"These words exhaled joyful tears from many of the hearers, and the embassadors returned to deliver the news of this acceptance; who, from

henceforth, was King of the Romans; that is, Emperor elect, which title is used till they receive the Crown Imperial—though, to all other purposes, he is Emperor, so that King of Romans seems to answer to the title of Cæsar, which, under the ancient Roman Emperors, was given to the heir apparent of the empire, or coadjutors, &c.

"Howsoever, sure it is that the new King of Romans had occasion to spend the golden oil, which was so long in gathering, to maintain the light of this imperial lamp; and, without question, he might be liberal, for he was reputed to possess so much ready coin, as would every day, for ten years, afford him an hundred marks upon the main stock, without reckoning his rents and revenues in Germany and the English dominions. The Earl was soon afterwards crowned king of the Romans, at Aquisgrave, by Conrade, archbishop of Collein, with great pomp and solemnity. The politic Germans knew what they did in chusing Richard their king, for they saw a cloud of gold and silver would dissolve itself in showers amongst them on his arrival; and all elections of strangers turn to their profit, because none are chosen that relys wholly on the rents of the empire."

Some particulars of the Death of Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury—Of the Coronation of Prince Henry, eldest son of Henry the Third —and other interesting particulars. From Polidore Virgil, Speed, &c. &c.—A. D. 1168.

(The controversial disputes between this king and the archbishop are too well known to every reader to need any explanation here; these extracts are intended only to give an account of the manner of his death, of some few of the miracles imputed to him, and of the arrogance and ingratitude of Prince Henry to his unhappy father.)

"After all these contentions with the turbulent and unruly Becket, and all the dreadful threats and dealings of the Pope Alexander, it came into King Henry's mind to sweeten these his many cares and griefs with some solace, and, to that end, to crown his eldest son, young Henry, king of England, now in his own life time; a councell not more temerarious than unfortunate: but of which yet he did hope to reap this consolation—that it was done in contempt of Becket (whose office it was to have crowned the king), with some advantage also towards the perpetuation of the Avitall Customs, and that also without scruple of conscience, his son receiving the crown without

caution to preserve the church's liberties, either by him put in, or others exacted. Yea, rather an oath ministered, and by the young king taking those Avitall Customs to the uttermost.

"The solemnity of this coronation was performed, at Henry the father's commandment, by Roger, Archbishop of York, (the ancient rival to the see of Canterbury), contrary to the Pope's express inhibition, the father himself King Henry being present thereat, though without any fortunate presage in coming, or cause of consolation in the action. For in his inauspicious passage out of Normandy, arriving not without very great peril at Portsmouth, the best and newest ship he had was sunk in the storms, and therein, besides Henry de Agnellis and his two sons, Gilbert de Sullemni, Master Ralph de Bealmunt, the king's physician and favourite, with about four hundred men and women more, were devoured of the working waves. And, at the feast, the joyful father himself carrying the first dish; and the Archbishop of York saying in pleasure to the young king, 'Rejoice, my fair son, for there is no Prince in the world with such a servitor attending at his table as you have.' The unnatural young man answered—'Why wonder you at that? My father well knows his place, and that he doth nothing that misbecomes him, for so much as he is royally born but of one side; but ourself are royally born both by father and mother.'

"Add hereunto, that this unlucky coronation's triumphs were celebrated with bonfires kindled by the furies in Normandy, which Lewis, the French king, invaded with fire and sword, because his daughter Margaret was not crowned as well as the young king, her husband. But the father, speeding into those parts, quenched this flame, with a promise to recrown his son, and that then his daughter Margaret should be honoured with the like ceremonies. Thus the afflicted king's patience was exercised on every hand, and worse things were feared.

"So now at last, in the seventh year of Becket's banishment, a meeting was had at Seins, whether the two great kings of England and France, the archbishop of Seins and the bishop of Nevers being together, the archbishop of Canterbury repaired; and by the interposition of the reverend prelates, and the terror the king was in of the Pope's excommunication, the archbishop was again restored to the king's favour, and permitted to have full use of his metropolitan See, and all the profits thereof, with the arrears. Which conclusion the king signifies to his son in England, whether the archbishop returns, and lands at Sandwich: and thus the controversy between the king and his archbishop appeared to end.

"But the archbishop had not been long in England before he published the Pope's letters, by which Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh,

bishop of Duresme, were suspended from the use of their Episcopal functions, for crowning the young king, in prejudice to the see of Canterbury, &c. &c.

"Whereupon a great complaint was carried into Normandy, to the father king, by some of the bishops; and, in the mean time, the Archbishop Thomas, putting himself upon the way to visit the young king at Woodstocke, in Oxfordshire, was commanded not to approach.

"At the news of these late censures, the father king was so sore displeased, that some words slipping from him unawares, arguing his discontent, it moved Hugh Morvill, William Tracey, Hugh Britte, and Richard Fitzurse, knights and courtiers, to post into England, and there in a fury (without either warrant or privacy of their sovereign) to murder the archbishop, being then about forty-eight years old (though the printed legend says fifty-three), in his own church of Canterbury; which sacred place and time, besides his high calling, might have pleaded for pity, had not the men been wholly transported with barbarous rage. For, howsoever we are far from their furies, who for his zeal to the Pope's sovereignty, have so mounted him to the top of martyr's glory, that not only the basest part of his shrine was of pure gold, and his old shoe was devoutly kissed by all the passengers, but also shameless and numberless miracles are blindly ascribed unto him,

and his blood almost matched in virtue with our ever blessed Saviour's:—yet do we no less condemn their bloody and butcherly execution of him, without lawful authority to bear them out, or acquit them from the guilt of blood.

"The report of the tragical outrage on the archbishop coming to the old king at Argenton, in Normandy, there was no kind of sorrow into which (without respect to majesty or state) he fell not into, and not without cause, as well knowing how plentiful an hydra of mischiefs would arise out of it (upon opinion of his privacy to the fact), if not timely prevented, &c. Henry, therefore, among the many perplexities which beset him, arising out of the archbishop's murder, saw no way so ready, for the calming his own perturbation, or the averting men's thoughts from the consideration of that scandalous tragedy, as to undertake some great and noble enterprize, which now offered itself very seasonably, by the reduction of Ireland, a very spacious and plentiful island, and lying most commodiously for the uses of England, &c. &c.

"To shut up this long contention, we will annex the judgement of a learned monk of that time (Mathew Paris), who thus gives his opinion.

"Indeed, though most men's custom is, in those whom they love and praise, to extol whatsoever they have done (an argument of their great affection, but small wisdom), yet, in plain truth,

those things which the venerable archbishop so acted, that no profit at all thence could arise, but the king's wrath only was kindled, (whereby so many mischiefs afterwards arose), I do not think it to be praiseworthy, though they sprang from a laudable zeal; as it was in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, who, attaining the top of apostolic perfection, taught the Gentiles, by his example, to Judaize, for which the doctors of the Gentiles declares that he deserves to be reprehended, though he did it with a praiseworthy and pious intent. The archbishop was hot in zeal of justice, but whether according to knowledge, God knoweth, for it is not for a man of my weak capacity and quality rashly to judge of so great a man's actions; but I think the blessed Pope Gregory would have dealt more mildly, and winked at those things, which might have been borne without any hazard to the Christian faith. Therefore, that which the venerable archbishop then did, I neither judge that it is to be commended, neither presume I to condemn it: for good men are to be so loved or lauded by us, that we neither laud or love those acts wherein they shew themselves to be but frail men; but only in those things wherein, without scruple, we may and ought to imitate them. And, therefore, they are warily and wisely to be praised, that God's prerogative may be reserved intire to himself.

"Some other learned men there were, who

lived near to that time, whose censure was far sharper than that of the monks; such were some of those divines of Paris, mentioned by Cæsarius the monk, who saith, 'the question was debated to and fro amongst the doctors, in the University of Paris, whether Thomas a Becket were damned or saved; amongst whom Rogerius the Norman avowed, that he deserved death and damnation for his arrogancy and his contumacy against his king, the minister and anointed of God; but Perras Cantor alledged, that his miracles were the signs of his salvation,' &c. &c.

"And indeed if all be true which one man hath written in five books, containing his two hundred and seventy miracles, we cannot but acknowledge him both the greatest saint, and the merriest too, that ever got into Heaven, so ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of Alwardus, who, for stealing of a great whetstone, being deprived of his eyes, and otherwise mutilated, by sentence of law for such misdemeanors, on prayer to St. Thomas, of Canterbury, had all his members again to him; yea, even a bird having been taught to speak, flying out of her cage, and ready to be seized by a sparrow hawk, said only, 'St. Thomas, help me,' and her enemy fell presently dead, and she escaped, and (belike) reported the miracle.

"Of which great power in this saint how can we doubt, when we read, that even in his life-time,

the Virgin Mary herself was contented to be his sempstress, and sewed his shirt with red silk. Many of such kind of follies (if that word be sharp enough) might be here inserted, were not our present argument more serious; and these forgeries fit only for monks to indite, children to read, and fools only to believe.

Curious particulars of the penance of Henry the Second, for the murder of Thomas a Becket, from Roger Hoveden, corroborated by many other ancient authors; expressed in that simplicity of style, so much to be admired in the writers of that period, and to preserve which, and introduce to readers of the present day, is the principal intention of this work. A. D. 1174.

" King Henry wonderfully stirred with the evil reports of cruel transactions which were taking place in his absence, in his realm of England, in which all stood doubtful, and in extreme peril, to the encrease whereof, William, king of Scotland, being deep in the confederacy, invaded England, dividing his forces, himself with part wasting Northumberland, and Duncan, a very cruel captain, with others, destroying the western border. The

king therefore, with all speed, leaves Normandy, in as good assurance as the time would permit, and sends before him, to his ships, Elenor, his own queen, and Queen Margaret, his son's wife, his son John, the Earl of Leicester, and his countess, with many other prisoners, and a mighty army; but the wind changing, and he compelled to stay in harbour at Barbfleet, in Normandy, where he had taken shipping, he is said (God touching his heart) to have uttered these words, in the presence of all his people.

"'If my purpose in this voyage be for the peace of the clergy and my people, and if the King of Heaven will vouchsafe to quiet and calm these troubles at my arrival, then for his mercies' sake, we beseech him to send us a prosperous wind; but if he be against it, and hath resolved to visit the kingdom of England with the rod of his fury, let him grant me never to touch the shore of that country more.' His prayers thus uttered from the depth of soul, was directly seconded by a fresh gale of wind, whereupon setting sail, he arrived safe the same day, with all his navy at the port of Hampton, in England.

"The next day he took his journey towards Canterbury, where (as it appeareth) the residue of his penance, enjoined him at his absolution, was to be performed. For, besides the fore-mentioned conditions, the legates enjoined him some other things secretly, which came not to our knowledge;

yea, the legates themselves wrote in their own letters, that he then promised to do voluntarily (if ye list to believe those legates) some things, which was not fit for them to lay open in writing. And well indeed might they be ashamed thereof; but if it were so unfit to be written, how much more unfit was it to be imposed on such a sovereign prince? What it was, shall now appear.

"The king coming towards the church where the late Archbishop Thomas was buried, clad all in woollen, went three miles barefooted; insomuch, that the very ground whereon he went was bloody, as was evidently seen, much blood running from his tender feet, which were cut by the hard flint stones over which he passed. Neither was this the worst, for after all this, he received discipline at the hands of the bishops, of a great many priests, and of the monks, (Gervasius says) from abbots also; whereby appears, that every several sort were to have a hand in that service. Matthew Paris can tell you more plainly what the discipline was; who saith, that he received the discipline of rods on his bare flesh, receiving of every religious man (a great multitude of them being there gathered) three or five jerks a-piece; hence we may easily believe, that Baronius and his author spoke within compass, who acknowledge that he received eighty lashes. To such height was the papal tyranny grown, and pride encreased, towards those

of whom God hath said expressly, 'Touch not mine anointed.'

"Yet some monks of that age attribute the happy and great success which suddenly ensued, to the reconcilement which King Henry thus made with God, for the blood of Thomas a Becket; because it pleased God to deliver his enemy, William, king of Scotland, into the hands of his soldiers about that very time; and did also with storms beat back into France his disobedient son, the young king, being now under sail for England, scattered the whole fleet, and almost sinking it with tempest."

Of the Disobedience of the Children of Henry the Second—Of the Death of the young King Henry, and other interesting incidents. From Roger Hoveden.

"Young King Henry, by the instigation of his father, sought by force to constrain his brother, young Prince Richard to do homage to him for Aquitaine; and King Henry, for the same cause, commanded Geoffrey, his third son, Duke of Britaine (whom some for his extraordinary perfidious-

ness in this service towards his father, and manifold sacrilege, calls the Child of Perdition) to aid and assist his said elder brother; whilst also the jealous father (out of the strife of his sons) sought his own safety, and in nourishing it, had by the treachery of the said sons, been twice endangered, and had at both times been wonderfully preserved; and while the young king, by profound dissimulations, plotted to bring both his father and brother Richard into subjection, behold the hand of God, by taking away the young king, at Mastell, not far from Limoges, where his father lay at seige, gave an end to this odious, foul, and intricate contention.

"For his life was cut off like a flower, or a weaver's thread, and by his dying were the hopes of many cut off. But whatsoever his life was, which God thus shortened at the age of twenty and eight years, certainly his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be set out in tables at large, as a pattern to disobedient children: for, his father refusing to visit him, (as fearing for his own life) but sending his ring, in token of forgiveness, the dying prince most humbly, and with floods of tears, kissing the same, made a most sorrowful confession of his sins; and feeling death approach, would needs be drawn (as an unworthy sinner) out of his own bed, and laid upon another strewed with ashes, where his soul departed in a most penitent manner from his body; which, being re-

lated to the father, he fell upon the earth, weeping bitterly, and like another David for his Absolam, mourned very much. Oh! how heinous a thing it is, for sons to persecute a father! For, neither the sword of the fighter, nor the hand of any enemy did avenge the father's wrongs, but the hand of God, by a fever and a flux, with excoriation of the bowels.

"And furthermore, the wrath of God still pursuing these unnatural sons, for the revenge of disobedience, Geoffrey, son of King Henry, was in a tournament, at Paris, trodden to death under the horses' feet. A miserable end, and a fearful.

"Who would not now have thought that this stirring prince should have had opportunity to end his days in peace and glory? But it was otherwise ordained by God; and ancient writers hold, that he was principally scourged for being drawn, by seeming reasons of state, to put off an holy enterprize, the occasion whereof was laid, as it were, at his foot. For Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, drawn with the super-eminent fame of King Henry's wisdom, valour, riches, and puissance, travelled from thence into England, where at Clerkenwell, by London, in an assembly of the states, purposely called, the king made known to them, that Pope Lucius had, by earnest letters, commended the lamentable state of the Holy Land, and the Patriarch Heraclius, unto him; that Heraclius (there present) had stirred compassion and

tears, at the rehearsal of the tragical afflictions of the Eastern World, and had brought with him (for memorable signs, that the suit was by common consent of the country) the keys of the places of Christ's nativity, passion, and resurrection; of David's Tower, and of the Holy Sepulchre; and the humble offer of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the ensign or standard of the kingdom, as duly belonging to him, who was right heir to their inheritance; to wit, the son of Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, whose brother Fulke, was king of Jerusalem.

"Nevertheless (the king having at lestwise formally adjured the Lord to advise him that which should be most for his soul's health) it was thought fit to aid the cause with money, but not to employ his person, nor the person of any child he had, which was the patriarch's last request; and thereupon (to the unspeakable grief of the said patriarch, and to the whole Christianity of the East) he refused the said kingdom, and abandoned as noble an enterprize and occasion of immortal renown, as any king of England had ever been offered; but gave leave to all such as would, to take upon them the cross and serve. This Heraclius, is he who dedicated the Temple Church, in London, as by an inscription over the church door, in the stone work, doth appear.

"Thus the sorrowful patriarch being dismissed, not forgetting (as some do write) to thunder

against the king for abandoning the cause, brought back nothing but discomfort and despair; the western princes (by the Devil's malicious arts) being wrapped and knotted in mutual suspicions and quarrels indetermined; whereupon, shortly after ensued, with the loss of Jerusalem, the captivity of Guido, king thereof, and of innumerable Christians besides, whom Sultan Saladin, Prince of the Musselmen, or Saracens, to the grief and disgrace of all the Christian world, did vanquish."

Anecdotes from Roger Hoveden, of Richard Cœur-delion, and of Prince John, his brother; and of the Death of Richard the First, with an account of the accident which caused it.

"At an interview between Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, (the sower of strife, although he sought peace) shewed to King Richard a deed, in which Earl John, newly yields himself liegeman to King Philip, against his brother. A wonderful thing that Richard should believe it, being perhaps but a copy of that device or trick (if it were a device) which they once had jointly put upon the said John, in the end of King Henry's time. But Richard thereupon forthwith

disseised the earl, his brother, every where. But the earl, having searched and learned the cause of this the king's sudden displeasure, (whose love he had before redeemed by many loyal services) he sends two men of arms into the French court, who should, on his behalf, in what sort soever, defend his honour and innocency, against any of his accusers; but there was no man found in that court, neither king, or any other person whatever, who would undertake the proof or maintenance thereof; whereupon, ever afterwards, Richard held his brother more dear, and gave less credit to King Philip's words.

"But now ensued the fatal accident, which drew the black cloud of death over this triumphal and bright shining star of chivalry, the unworthy occasion of which misadventure, makes it the more lamentable; which, notwithstanding, for a document to the great ones, against the outrage of avarice and cruelty, God suffered thus to fall upon him. Windomare, Viscount of Limoges, having found a great hoard of gold and silver, sent no small portion thereof to King Richard, as chief lord; with which, not being contented, (as pretending that treasure trove was wholly his, by virtue of his prerogative royal; or else, misliking that the viscount should make the partition) came with a power to a castle of the viscount's, called Chaluz, where he supposed the riches were; the garrison of which place offered to yield up the

same, and all that was therein, if only their lives and limbs might be saved; but he would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themselves as they could, for he would surely enter by the sword, and hang them all. It grieves me to think, that such a prince should so forget himself; but, behold the severity of God's judgment upon him. An Arbalaster (or Archibalista) standing upon the wall, and seeing his time, charged his steel bow with a square arrow, or quarrell, making first his prayer to God, that he might direct that shot, and deliver the innocency of the besieged from the oppression of tyranny. Whereupon discharging it, as the king was taking a view of the castle, within the danger and distance of such an engine, and the king upon hearing the bow go off, stooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left shoulder; the anguish and peril whereof, was extremely augmented by the butcherly and unskilful hand of the surgeon, who, having drawn out the wood, and not the envenomed iron, mangled the arm with cruel incisions, before he could prevail, the pain and irritation whereof, hastened his end.

"Concerning the name of this tragical archer, there is so much variety, as that we would willingly take that uncertainty for a warrant to silence it; being loath to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily punishable with utter oblivion, to have shed (though defensively, or but

casually) the blood of such a king. But I beleive it for certain, that this man was called Bertram de Gurdonn, and that certain Latin verses of Lucan, may be applied to him in commendation of his unappalled constancy, when he came before King Richard, where thou mayest perhaps for satisfaction of thy mind with beholding some revenge, desire to know what became of the actor. After that, the castle, by continual assaults, was taken; and by the king's command, none left alive but he, as being reserved perhaps to some more shameful death. The king, upon a Christian magnanimity, forgave him the fact, which the party, without shew of dismay, did neither deny or excuse, but alledging the necessity of his case, and the justice of God's work in it, for that the king had slain his father, and his two brothers, with his own hand. Being hereupon set at liberty, and one hundred shillings sterling given him by the king, Markadey, Captain of the Mercenary Rowtes, after the king was dead, took him again, flead him alive, and then by hanging, ending his life."

Stones' Church, in Staffordshire, was so called from the following circumstance. From William of Malmsbury.

"King Vulfhere, of Mercia, remaining at his castle in Vlferchester, in Staffordshire, and under-

standing that Vulfold and Rafin, his two sons, under pretence and colour of hunting, usually resorted to reverence Chad, to be instructed in the fruitful faith of Jesus Christ, and had at his hands received the sacrament of Baptism, at the persuasion of one Werehad, suddenly followed; and finding them in the oratory of that holy man, in devout contemplations, he slew them there with his own hands. Whose martyred bodies, Queen Ermenhild, their mother, caused to be buried in a sepulchre of stone, and thereupon a fair church to be erected, which by reason of the many stones thither brought for that foundation, was ever after called Stones, and is now a market town in the same county.

"But King Vulfhere repenting this his most inhuman murder, became himself a Christian, and destroyed all those temples wherein Heathen Gods had been worshipped, converting them all into Christian churches and religious monasteries. And to redeem so heinous an offence, underwent the finishing of Medisham* his brother's foundation, enriching it largely with lands and possessions. Notwithstanding, he is taxed with sonomy, for selling unto Wyna, the bishopric of London. He reigned over the Mercians the space of seventeen years, leaving this life in the year of our Lord, six hundred and seventy-four, leaving

* Now Peterborough.

his body to be buried in the monastery of Peterborough, which was of his brother's, and his own foundation."

Instances of Cruelty, Treachery, and Deceit, almost unparallelled in history, in the conduct of Sir William Kingston, Provost Martial in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

"It is memorable what sport Sir William Kingston, the Provost Martial, made, by virtue of his office, upon men in misery. One Boyer, Mayor of Bodwin, in Cornwall, had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the Mayor made great provision.

"A little before the dinner hour, the Provost took the Mayor aside, and whispered him in his ear, that an execution must be done in the town that day, and therefore required to have a pair of gallows set up by then dinner should be done. The Mayor failed not of his charge. Presently after dinner the Provost, taking the Mayor by the hand, entreated him to lead him to the place where the gallows was, which, when he beheld,

he asked the Mayor if he thought them to be strong enough. 'Yes,' said the Mayor, 'doubtless they are.' 'Well then,' said the Provost, 'get you up speedily, for they are provided for you.' 'I hope,' answered the Mayor, 'you mean not as you say.' 'In faith,' answered the Provost, 'there is no remedy, for you have been a busy rebel.' And so without respite or defence he was hanged to death. A most uncourteous part for a guest to offer his host.

"Near the same place dwelt a miller, who had been a busy actor in the rebellion; who, fearing the approach of the Marshall, told a sturdy fellow, his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to inquire after the miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came, and called for the miller; when out comes the servant, and saith he was the man. The Provost demanded, how long he had kept that mill? 'These three years,' answered the servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next tree. At this the fellow cryed out, that he was not the miller, but the miller's man. 'Nay, Sir,' said the Provost, 'I will take you at your word; if thou beest the miller, thou art a busy knave; if thou beest not the miller, thou art a false lying knave; and

howsoever it may be, thou canst never do thy master better service than to hang for him.'— And so, without more ado, he was dispatched."

Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle.

Circumstances like these, of arbitrary and wicked proceedings, it is conceived, would make the most discontented happy and satisfied with the present mode of government, where the mean and obscure have an equal claim to the protection of the laws, and as equitable trial by their peers, that the most exalted can claim, for the preservation of life, property, or reputation.

Fatal effects of Ambition and Envy exemplified by the following example. (Edward the Sixth's reign.) From Speed.

" But in England an unfortunate accident happened about this time, which, beginning upon a very slight occasion, produced afterwards very heavy effects; whereof, though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the pride of woman, upon a point indeed

wherein the nature of women are commonly most tender, precedency of place. The Lord Protector had married Ann Stanhope, a woman of a haughty stomach; and the Lord Admiral, his brother, the Queen Dowager, a lady of great mildness. The nearness of the husbands gave occasion of the ladies often meeting, where the Duchess would inwardly murmur, why she, being the wife of the elder brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger brother, and the meaner man.

"This envy of her's towards the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did the husband would be part of her revenge upon the wife. And though the Queen shortly after died in child-bed, yet the malice of the Duchess still lived against the Admiral, (so hard a thing it is for malice once settled in a woman's heart to be removed). Out of this malice towards the Admiral, she puts divers surmises into her husband's (the Protector's) head against his brother, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end that he might aspire to the place he held, but certainly as misliking his government, being a protestant, who was himself a papist. In this case, causes of jealousy against the Admiral were obvious enough, for it was known, that, in King Henry's time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth, King Henry's second daughter, and now his wife the

Queen Dowager being dead (and not without suspicion of poison), he fell upon that marriage afresh which could not but be thought to tend to some very high aspiring end. The Protector, a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight insight into practices; whether too importunately provoked by his wife, or whether out of an honest mind, not willing to patronize faults, even though in a brother, gave way to accusations brought against him, so as, in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the person of the king, and government of the realm; for endeavouring to marry the Lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, and for persuading the king, in his tender years, to take upon him the rule and ordering of himself. Upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by act of Parliament condemned, and, within a few days after condemnation, a warrant was sent, under the hand of his own brother the Protector, to cut off his head. Wherein (as it afterwards proved) he did as much as if he had laid his own head down upon the block: for whilst these brothers lived, and held together, they were as a strong fortress one to the other; the Admiral's courage supporting the Protector's authority, and the Protector's authority maintaining the Admiral's stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the

Protector's authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruin."

One of the articles of Accusation brought against the same Lord Protector, very soon after the death of his brother the Admiral.

"One thing the Protector had done, which, though a private act, yet gave a public distate and cause of accusation against him.

"To make him a mansion-house in the Strand (the same which is now called Somerset-house), he pulled down a church, and two bishops' houses; by the Strand Bridge, in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had been there buried were cast out, and carried into the fields: and because the stones of these houses, and the church, sufficed not for his work, the steeple, and most part of the church of St. John at Jerusalem, near Smithfield, was mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones applied to this stately and spacious building;—and more than this, the cloyster of Paul's, on the north side of the church, in a place called Pardon Church-yard, and the dance of death very curiously wrought about the cloyster, and a chapel that stood in the midst of the church-

yard; also the charnel-house that stood on the south side of Paul's (now a carpenter's yard), with the chapel timber and monuments therein, were beaten down; the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury Fields; and the stones converted into this building.

"This act of the Protector's did alieniate the minds of the people from him in a very great degree;—and, among others, gave cause for his enemies to triumph over him at last."

The instability of human greatness, or the favour of Kings exhibited in the Fall and Death of Cardinal Wolsey.

"King Henry the Eighth finding about this time that Cardinal Wolsey was become a rub in the way of his divorce from Queen Katherine, whom he rather had expected to have expedited his proceedings, began to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatness which had made him so presuming. And indeed he made short work with him, for soon after he sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to him for the great seal, which he would not deliver them,

till they brought a warrant from under the king's own hand, &c. &c.

"Wolsey, now removed from his Chancellorship, was, in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of treason: but that charge was so clearly taken off, by his servant Thomas Cromwell, who was then of the house, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of Cromwell, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his master.

"After this, the King being informed that all those things which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the case Premunire—he caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a Premunire against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent unto him, to let him know the King's pleasure was, he should go to Asher, a house near to Hampton Court, belonging to his bishoprick of Winchester, and there to reside. Whereupon he having first delivered up all his moveables to the King's use (the greatest store and the richest that was ever known of any subject), went presently to Putney by water, and from thence rode to Asher, where he and his family continued for three or four weeks, without either bed, sheets, table-cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of Carlisle. After this,

his matter for the Prèmunire being called into the King's Bench, his two attorneys confessed the action, and thereupon had judgment to forfeit all his lands and goods, and to be out of the king's protection: but the King, of his clemency, sent him a sufficient protection, and left him the bishopricks of York and Winchester, with plate and stuff sufficient and convenient for his dignity, &c. &c.

"At this time, the Cardinal still lying at Asher, and his adversaries doubting lest lying so near the King he might one time or other get access to the king's presence, and come again into favour, they used means to have sent him further off, and thereupon the king appointed him to go to his diocess of York, and not to come southward, without special licence. Whereupon, in Lent, he made great preparations for his journey, and having in his train to the number of an hundred and three score persons, by easy journeys came to Peterborough, and there kept his Easter; the week after he went to Stamford, then to Newark, and so to Southwell, where he continued most part of that summer; and then rode to Scroby, where he stayed till Michaelmas, and then came to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of York, where he kept a plentiful house for all comers; and repaired the Castle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred artificers in daily wages. At last he determined to be installed at York, the next Monday after All-Hallow's day, against which time

great preparation was made, and the Cardinal sent to the king to lend him the mitre and pall which he used to wear at any great solemnity.—At which presumption the king marvelled not a little, saying to those who were about him, 'What a thing is this, that pride should thus reign in a man that is quite under foot?'

"But before the day of instalment came, he was arrested in this manner; Sir Walter Walsh, one of the King's Privy Chamber, was sent down to the Earl of Northumberland, with whom he was joined in commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to Cawood, where the Cardinal lay, and being entered into the house, it was told the cardinal that the Earl of Northumberland was come, and in the hall; 'then,' quoth the Cardinal, 'I am sorry we have dined, for I doubt our officers are not provided of any good cheer.' With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complimentary manner, as if they had come but only to visit him; but, being come into the chamber, the Earl, with a soft voice, laying his hand on the Cardinal's arm, said, 'My lord, I arrest you of high treason;' the Cardinal, somewhat astounded, asked to see his commission, which the Earl denying to shew; 'then,' saith the Cardinal, 'I will not obey the arrest;' at that instant Master Walsh came in, and kneeling down to the Cardinal, he asked him, if he were joined in the commission with the Earl;

who answered, that he was; 'Well, then,' said the Cardinal, 'I troth, you are one of the King's Privy Chamber; your name is Walsh; I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, unless I see his commission: the meanest of the King's Privy Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the king's commandment, without any commission.'

"Then the Earl took the Cardinal's keys from him, and put him in custody of his gentlemen: some few days after he was conveyed from Cawood to Pomfret, and after to Sheffield Park, where he had kind entertainment, and staid with the Earl of Shrewsbury and his lady, eighteen days; till at last, setting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change; and being asked how he did; 'Not well," saith he, "I have something suddenly at my stomach, as cold as a whetstone, which I know is wind; I desire to have something from the apothecaries' to remove it; which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, but whether it were that he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he soon after was found to be extremely ill, notwithstanding which, he the next day rode to Nottingham, and the day after to Leicester Abbey, being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his mule; coming to the abbey gates, the abbot, with all the convent, met him; to whom he said, 'Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones

among you;' and then was led into his chamber, and went to bed; where, growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did; "I do but tarry' he said, 'the pleasure of God, to render my poor soul up into his hands; for this is my case, I have a flux, with a continual fever; the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight days, either excoriation of the entrails will ensue, or frenzy, or else present death, and as I suppose, this is the eighth day.'

"'Sir,' said Master Kingston, 'you are afraid of that you have no cause; for I assure you the king commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did.'

"'No, no, Master Kingston,' said the Cardinal, 'I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs; but it is a just reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God to do him pleasure.'

"And having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost, which made some about him remember how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their master. Being dead, he was buried in the abbey of Leicester.

"This man held at once the bishoprics of York,

Winchester, and Durham; the dignities of Lord Cardinal Legate, and Chancellor of England, the abbey of Saint Albans, divers priories, and sundry great benefices in commendam: he had also in his hands, as it were in farm, the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which, having been given by Henry the Seventh to strangers, that lived out of the realm, they suffered Wolsey to enjoy them, receiving from him a pension only. The retinue of this prelate is scarce credible; a thousand persons daily of his household, of whom many knights and some lords, all of which greatness, as it came by the king's favour, so by the withdrawing of this favour was it overthrown: so true is that saying of Solomon's; 'The king's favour is as dew upon the grass, but his wrath is as the roaring of the lion, and as the messenger of death.'" *Baker's Chronicle.*

The story of Lady Jane Grey—Mary I. A.D. 1554. *Collected from various authorities. Richard Grafton—Master Fox—Acts and Monuments. Speed, &c. &c.*

An account of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, affecting and interesting in the highest degree;

and even more, from the simplicity and accuracy with which these ancient historians relate the distressing occurrences of former ages, is here introduced; together with the orations of Queen Mary —anecdotes of Queen Elizabeth, (whilst princess and prisoner, during the bloody and bigoted reign of her sister) and several other celebrated characters.

"The next that felt the calamities of those times, were the Lady Jane Grey, and the Lord Guilford Dudley, her husband; both innocent persons in that which their fathers had done. She doubtless was a lady of most admirable gifts, both in learning, religion, and human knowledge, as by her conference with Fecknam, letters to an apostata, exhortations to her sister, and prayers by her made, in a most feeling manner, do evidently appear; and that she was compelled to consent to the things done, is manifest by a letter sent to her father a little before her death, wherein, after a dutiful and holy exhortation unto patience, she useth this speech.

"'My dear father, if I may, without offence, rejoice in my own mishaps, methinks in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocence of my facts, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, mercy, mercy, to the innocent. And yet, though I must acknowledge being constrained, and as you wot well enough,

continually assailed in taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein offended the queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this mine offence towards God is much the less, in that being in so royal an estate as I was, mine enforced honour never agreed with mine innocent heart.'

" Yet must the law for so great an offence take place; for trial whereof, this late titled queen, and now miserable lady, was brought into Guildhall, where she with the Lord Guilford Dudley, were arraigned and condemned, and so again returned to the Tower: for whom great lamentations were made, particularly for the good Lady Jane, whose state the queen herself so pitied, as that she had the liberty to walk in the Queen's gardens, and on the hill. And surely had not her father, after his first offence, fallen into another, she had been (as was thought) pardoned of life.

" But the statists of those times, knowing their queen would have no quiet whilst these great opposites were reared against her, held it best policy to take them away; whereupon, on the twelfth of February, the first day of the week, the Lord Guilford Dudley was had to the scaffold upon Tower Hill, and there with prayers and great penancy, ended his life; whose body, all bloody, laid in a cart, together with the head, wrapped in a cloth, was brought into the chapel within the Tower,

even in the sight of his sorrowful lady, a spectacle more deadly than was the axe of her death.

"And now her own part was to be acted, the stage of her tragedy was raised upon the green within the Tower, whereupon being mounted, with a cheerful countenance and a patient mind, these words, with great constancy, she spake at that present.

"'Good people, I am come to die, and by law I am condemned to the same; my offence against the Queen's Highness, was only in consent to the device of others, which now is deemed treason, yet it was never of my seeking; but by counsel of those who should seem to have further understanding of things than I, which knew little of the law, and much less of titles to the crown. But touching the procurement, or desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands in innocency thereof before God, and in the face of you all this day, (and therewith she wrang her hands, wherein she had a book.) I pray ye all good Christian people, (she said) to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by none other means, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only son Jesus Christ; and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is justly and worthily happened upon

me, for my sins. And yet I thank God of his goodness, that he hath given me time and respite to repent. And now good people assist me with your prayers.'

Then kneeled she down, and said in English, the fifty-first Psalm; and again standing up, gave her book to Master Bridges, then Lieutenant of the Tower. Then untieing her gown, the executioner offered to help, whom she desired to forbear, and so turning to her two gentlewomen, was disrobed of that and her other attires; this done, the headsman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness; unto whom she said, 'The Lord forgive thee—and I do—and I pray thee dispatch me quickly;' and kneeling again, said, 'will you take it off before I lie down;' he answered, 'no, Madam.' Then she tied a handkerchief over her eyes, and feeling for the block, said, 'where is it? where is it?' Lastly, laying her neck upon the same, stretched forth her body, and said, 'Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit;' which was scarcely uttered, before she received the fatal stroke of the axe; and thus ended the life of this chaste, innocent, and most virtuous lady; whose case, through the severity of the law adjudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of all.

"But most especially grievous was the death of this young and virtuous lady, unto him who gave the sentence of the same, even Judge Morgan,

who thereupon presently fell raving mad; and in his rantings, continually cried, "Take away the Lady Jane from me—take away the Lady Jane; and in that horror shortly ended his life."

Persecutions in the time of Mary I. 1553. *From Speed.*

STORY OF KATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLKE.

"And many fled the land in those days of distress; amongst whom, most memorable, is that of Katherine, Duchess of Suffolke, with her husband, Richard Bartie, Esq. whose story and troubles happened as followeth.

"The Lady Katherine was the only daughter, and sole heir of Lord William, Baron of Willoughby and of Eresby, and the last wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, lately deceased; in whose time, how she affected the Papal profession, in massing and maskings, was made known, by clothing a dog in a motcher, and calling him Gardiner; and again, in the days of King Edward, Gardiner saluting her from his prison window in the Tower; she told him, 'it was well with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up.' These

stuck sore upon the bishop's stomach, who being now risen to be Lord Chancellor of England, and she in disgrace with the queen, for her match in marrying Master Bartie, a man too inferior for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite; and to that end, sent for Master Bartie, her husband, charging him to be indebted four thousand pounds to the queen, which was owing her by my lady's late husband, the Duke of Suffolk, unto whom she was executrix; but this was only the train of a false fire, and the Duchess's religion, the mark he aimed at; for whom Master Bartie so wisely wrought, as himself was appointed to be her persuader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his means he obtained licence to travel beyond seas, for a debt owing to his Duchess by the Emperor.

"Bartie being gone, and Lady Katherine secretly to follow, upon the first of January, with four men, two women, and her young daughter, (herself apparelled like a merchant's wife, from Lions, in London) departed, the morning very misty, and her heart frought with fear. For no sooner was she gone, than news thereof came to court, and search made after her as far as Leith, before her bark could attain to the place; where, being shrouded by a merchant, under the name of his daughter, she escaped to sea. But twice her ship, by contrary winds, was driven to the same shore, to her great danger and no little grief; yet

lastly, she met with her husband, whence, being clad like a froe, they came into Cleveland, and at Santon seated themselves till further provision could be made.

"But the townsmen suspecting they were not the persons they went for, and the Bishop of Arras hearing they were Protestants, purposed with the magistrates to impeach their liberties; which Bartie hearing of, with his froe and daughter, attended only with two servants, suddenly made way unto Wesell, a town privileged with a still yard, in London. In travel they were overtaken by night, the weather was rainy, and the thaw upon a great frost made the way more deep; in which distress, his two servants he sent to seek some relief, whilst himself, the surest on foot, bore the child, and the Duchess, to ease him, carried his rapier and cloak.

"Thus passing through mire, dirt, and dark night, about seven of the clock, all wet and weary, they got into Wesell, where, he being suspected to be a Lance Knight, and she his woman, no better than nought, could get no entertainment; the language they had not, the child cried piteously, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreme, and the rain poured down as the clouds had been broken. In this distress, the Duchess almost fainting, (from the extremity of cold, hunger, and fatigue) the church porch was thought upon to shroud them from the rain, and to that end Master Bartie sent his two servants to buy coals and straw;

but repairing towards this his cold inn, he met with two boys who understood Latin, of whom he demanded for the minister's house, who presently brought him to that place, where he supped. The minister's name was Pernsell, and he had been in England, where, of the Duchess he had received kind courtesy; and now at Wesell employed his ministry amongst certain Wallons, who, hearing that the Duchess was fled out of England and that at Santon she lived nothing safe, had procured for their abode at Wesell, without making known who those English were, save only unto the chief magistrate.

"Master Bartie desiring to speak with the minister, he presently came down, who, seeing the Duchess so disguised in apparel, and bemired in dirt, could not speak unto her for tears, and bringing them in (with glad hearts no doubt), Master Bartie changed apparel with the good man, the Duchess with his wife, and their child with the child of the house; and thus suddenly were they comforted, by this good preacher's means.

"Here they seated not long, but that a sudden watchword was sent unto them from Sir John Mason, Queen Mary's Embassador in the Netherlands, that the Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the Spaw, and that the Duke of Brunswick, with ten ancients, would pass by Wesel, for the service of Austria, against the French King, by

whom the Duchess and her husband would be intercepted and delivered unto the Lord Peget.

"Greatly alarmed by this intelligence, and by the rigour which every where pursued them, in great haste they removed from thence to the town Wincheim, in High Germany, which was seated in the Palgrave's dominions, where, by his protection, they continued till their maintenance began to scant, and they almost despairing, and fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of all hope. At which very instant (God so moving the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of Vilua, and the King of Pole, hearing of their distress, sent them a safe conduct, under the Palatine's seal, with assurance of maintenance if they would come unto those parts.

"From Wincheim, therefore, they forthwith departed, and in waggon, towards Frankfort, but by the Langrave's Captain were intercepted, and set upon in the high way, so that Master Bartie was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captain's horse was slain under him, and the cry maintained that he was slain himself; whereupon Bartie, by the councell of the Duchess, and swiftness of his horse, fled amain, but was so eagerly followed upon opinion of murder, that he hardly escaped with life. Yet, lastly, they got into Poland, where they were honourably entertained, until the death of Queen Mary released them from all further persecution.

Phillip of Spain's (and husband to Queen Mary) interposition with that Princess for the freedom from Captivity of her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and his endeavour to reconcile them.

"A nobleman, in consultation, had given his opinion to Phillip, that it were best to cut off the head of the Lady Elizabeth. Which assured the Prince Phillip, that those so bad-minded to their natural Princess could not be better unto him a stranger—who contrariwise, upon this ground, so laid the foundation of true honour, as it gained him the love of all true English hearts; for, from that day, he never left off to solicit his Queen for the delivery of that innocent Princess, her sister, who still remained a solitary prisoner in Woodstock, though no proofs could be brought of any offence.

"At last his suit was obtained, and the Lady Elizabeth brought unto Hampton Court, having not seen the Queen for two years before she was locked up, and laid at by Gardiner, to submit herself, till some fourteen days after she was sent for into the Queen's chamber, about ten of the clock in the night: which she no sooner had entered, but falling upon her knees, she prayed God to preserve her Sovereign Majesty; protesting her loyalty and truth to her person, whatsoever had been

spoken or instigated to the contrary. Unto whom the Queen, somewhat sharply, said—'Then you will not confess your offence I see, but rather stand stoutly upon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out.' 'If not,' quoth the Princess, 'I request neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hand.' 'Well then,' said the Queen, 'you stand so stifly upon your own loyalty, belike you suppose to have been wrongfully punished?'

"'I must not say so to your Majesty,' said Lady Elizabeth.

"'But you will then so report to others it seemeth?' returned Queen Mary.

"'O no; and it please your Majesty,' said the Lady, 'I have borne and must bear the burden myself. I most humbly beseech your Grace's good opinion of me, and to think me your true subject, which from the beginning I have ever been, and will be for ever as long as my life lasteth.'

"The Queen replied, in Spanish, 'God knoweth.'—And so they departed, King Phillip, as is thought, standing behind the arras, heard what was said.

"However, seven days after, her Grace was discharged of Benefield, her jailor, and had leave of liberty; yet so, that Sir Thomas Pope, a privy councellor, and M. Gage, the Queen's gentleman usher, were still her attendants, all Queen Mary's time. Her gentlewoman, Mistress Ashley, was sent to the Fleet, and three other waiting maids

unto the Tower. But the death of Gardiner immediately following, these storms grew more calmer, and Lady Elizabeth every day more affectionately respected."

Speech of Queen Elizabeth, in reply to the petition of her Parliament, respecting her Marriage.—From Alexander Eversham.

"During the time of this Parliament, a petition was made unto her Majesty, for the hope of royal issue, to move her unto marriage; unto which elegant oration, delivered by the Speaker, she replied:—'With great thanks for their loving care for her and their own country; but as touching their request she answered, that from the time when first she considered herself to be born a servitor of God, she happily did chuse, and in truth best liked, a virgin life; from which, neither ambition of high marriages, which had been formerly offered her by her Prince, nor the grievances sustained by her whilst she lived amongst those enemies, whose indignation was death, had hitherto been able to divert her: but whether her years, and answer could concord together in their

judicious minds, she certainly knew not; yet this she assured them, that as she then stood so effected, and if that affection changed, her choice should be only of such a one as should be as careful, she would not say as herself, because she knew herself best, but as any of them, for the realm's good: and yet with all, she considered, that although herself, for their welfare, if need were, would not shun death, yet might her issue, as often happens to the best parents, grow out of kind, and prove ungracious. And, therefore, to leave behind her a more lasting and grateful remembrance, she held it sufficient that a marble stone should declare to posterity—that she, a Queen, had reigned, lived, and died a virgin.' And so with many thanks dismissed the assembly.

"How the first was accomplished, we that have lived under her reign have seen; but how insufficient that one stone is to contain and continuate the remembrance of her virtuous, pious, and glorious government, the whole world doth at this day, and shall, to all succeeding ages, witness; whilst the earth rests in the centre, and the heavens have restless movings."

A singular and particular account of a Duel or Combat for the Title of Lands, in the reign of Elizabeth—A. D. 1571.

"About this time a strange case (which we will insert rather to shew the course of justice and mercy in the Queen, than for any other great use in the story) happened at the law bar; where Simon Lowe and John Kyme were plaintiffs, for a certain manor and demains in the Isle of Harty, adjoining to that of Sheppey in Kent, wrongfully possessed (as they alledged) by Thomas Paramour, against whom they brought a writ of right. The defendant offered to maintain his title by combat, which the plaintiffs accepted, and brought their champions before the Judges to the bar. For Paramour was George Thome, of a big and broad set, who cast down the guantlet as challenger to justify Paramour's right, which was taken up by Henry Naylor, master of defence, a man proper and slender, and not very tall, who appeared for Lowe and Kyme to make good their claim.

"The place appointed for combat was in Tothel Fields, where a plot of ground, of one and twenty yards square, was doubly railed, and without the west square a stage set for the Judges, representing the Court of Common Pleas, behind the which two tents were pitched, the one for Thorne, and

the other for Naylor; the field with scaffolds on every side for people to see.

"All things thus ready, and the day drawing on, her Majesty (who ever abhorred all manner of bloodshed) took the matter into her own hands, and gave command and directions for the parties agreement, with a surcease from all further suit, which could not well be, unless the champions appeared in field; who, altogether ignorant of what was determined, upon the day assigned appeared in place, Thorne was there first, who was brought to his tent by Sir Jeromy Bowes; then came Naylor, having the gauntlet borne before him, on a sword's point, a truncheon (taper-wise) tiped with horn, about an ell long, and a shield of hard leather, carried after him; and so was conveyed to his tent, by Sir Henry Cheiney.

"The Court set, and the combatants called, Naylor entered the lists, being led by the hand by Sir Jeromy Bowes, where, making his obeysance, he came to the bar, and there held up his shield. Then was Thorne brought into the lists, by Sir Henry Cheiney, and, with like reverence, he held up his shield. Whereupon an oath was administered to the approver, the tenour whereof he spake as followeth: 'Hear this, ye Judges, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me either bone, stone, ne grasse, or any enchantment, sorcery, or witchcraft, where through the power of the word of God, might be inlessed, or

diminished, and the Devil's power increased, and that my appeal is true, so help me God, and his saints, and by this book.'

"Then was proclamation made, in her Majesty's name, that no person of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition there present, be so hardy as to give any token or sign, by countenance, speech, or language, either to the prover or to the defender, whereby the one of them may take advantage of the other, and no person to remove, but to keep still in his place, and every person to keep their staves and their weapons to themselves; nor suffer the said prover or defender to take any of their weapons, or any other thing, that may stand either to the said prover or defender's any aid or assistance, upon pain of forfeiture of lands, tenements, goods and chattles, and imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine and ransome, at the Queen's pleasure.

"But when these ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chief Justice stood up, and forbade the proceedings, allotting to Paramour the lands, with the satisfying the plaintiffs. And, thereupon, commanded Naylor to give Thorne again his gauntlet, which he most unwillingly did; and so the combat ended."

The Sultan Muraht's Letter to Queen Elizabeth is here inserted, faithfully translated, word for word, from the original, and is as followeth.—J. Stow.

"Most glorious, and in brightness most splendid woman, and of women the chiefest Prince of the mighty followers of Jesus, Queen of the most famous kingdom of England, and most excellent Elizabeth, most supient Governess of all the affairs of thy people, and family of the Nazarites, the most pleasing spring of brightness and glory, the most acceptable clouds sweet showers, the heir and lady of perpetual happiness and blessedness of the most famous kingdom of England, to whom all distressed suitors do flock for relief—we wishing from God, the mighty Creator, a most fortunate encrease of all the affairs of your Excellency, and happy success: and offering eternal vows and praises worthy of our mutual and perpetual familiarity and league, and declaring the premises, and that which followeth, with singular decentness.

"We give you to understand, and most friendly, that certain years passed, we had continual wars with Casulbas, Prince of Persia, in right of our people, by reason whereof, we could not make war upon other parts, whereby certain thieves, in

the parts of Polonia, called Cassakes, and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieved our subjects: now the Persian being vanquished, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in those parts being compounded, we determined to punish the said persons lurking in Poland and other parts; and by the Balgerby of Greece, our army being joined, and sent with our charge, by a Prince of Tartaria, in the year last past, a part of the kingdom of Polonia was on our behalf troubled and wasted, and the said Cassakes, and other wicked persons were punished according to their deserts, which the king of Poland seeing, and sending two messengers to our blessed Port, to enquire, find out, and punish, in full punishment; signified so much unto us, and required our acceptation of his present; but we would not allow his petition, but had fully intended and determined again to send our army against the said king of Poland; but the Ambassador of your Majesty, remaining in our blessed Port, interposing himself, and signifying to us, that this King did assist your Excellency with corn, gunpowder, masts, and other things necessary for wars, out of the confines of Polonia. Now when as the kingdom of Polonia, by our means was troubled, and your ambassador declared unto us your singular and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and interposition, was

unto us grateful and acceptable, and your Excellency, to whom we owe all favours and honour:

"We wrote our letters to the king of Polonia in this manner; that the said factious and wicked persons, and Cassackes, should be found out, and fully punished, but if, on the behalf of your Majesty, allowing league of peace, had not been solicited for the king of Poland, we should not, by any means, have entered league with him, but only at your request have we shewed this grace to the said king and his subjects, and sith our familiarity is mutual and perpetual, we think it convenient that your Majesty, joining yourself with the kingdom of Poland, do not leave to continue war with the king of Spain, who so long a time hath kept war against you; and if your Majesty be not grieved to write unto us, by some trusty man, we vow, by the aid of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall be on our part furnished and ordered, that a speedy dispatch may be made into Spain, wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt.

"Given in our royal seat at Constantinople, in the year of Jesus 1590, and of our Prophet Mahomet 998, in the month called Sadele, the twelvth.

As during the reign of Queen Elizabeth a number of conspiracies were formed against her life, for the purpose of again introduciug the religion of Rome, some particulars will be here inserted of the designs against her, and some curious letters from a conspirator, acknowledging his treasonable intentions, which will serve as a specimen of the state of those times—with some of her own observations on the danger she was continually exposed to. A. D. 1585.—*Speed.*

"Parry's* treason confessed under his own hand, in a letter to the Lords of the Councell, which here out of the original is thus given:

"'My Lords,—Now that the conspiracy is discovered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patiently to suffer pains due for so heinous a crime, I hope it will not offend you, if crying Miserere with the poor Publi-

* William Parry, a doctor of laws, was a bigotted Papist. He pretended to reveal to the Queen and her Ministers the plots which had been formed against her by the fugitive Catholics. For this purpose he obtained repeated access to the Queen's person; harbouring all the while (as he himself confessed) the purpose of assassinating her.—Fragmenta Regalia, by Sir Robert Naunton.

can, I leave to despair with cursed Cain. My case is rare and strange, and (for any thing I can remember to the contrary) singular; a natural subject, solemnly to vow the death of his natural Queen (so born, so known, and so taken by all men), for the relief of the afflicted Catholics, and restitution of religion.

"The matter first conceived in Venice, the service (in general words) presented to the Pope, continued and undertaken in Paris, and lastly commended and warranted by his Holiness, digested and resolved in England, if it had not been prevented by accusation, or by her Majesty's greater lenity, and more gracious usage of her Catholic subjects. This is my first and last offence, conceived against my Prince or country, and both (I cannot deny) contain all other faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished with death, or most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I do confess to have deserved; life I do with all humility crave, if it may stand with the Queen's honour and policy of the times. To leave so great a treason unpunished were strange, to draw it by my death in example were dangerous. A sworn servant, to take upon him such an enterprize, upon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not been seen in England. To indite him, to arraign him, to bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offence, can do no good. To hope that he hath more to discover,

than he hath already confessed, or that at his execution he will unsay any thing he hath written, is in vain. To conclude that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were very hard, and against former experiences. The then is, whether it be better to kill him, or, (lest the matter be mistaken) upon hope of his amendment, to pardon him? For mine own opinion (though partial) I will deliver you my conscience. The case is good Queen Elizabeth's; the offence is committed against her sacred person, and she may (of her mercy) pardon it, without prejudice to any. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience then to live—Pardon poor Parry, and relieve; for life, without living, is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonourable to the Queen's Majesty, (as, by your favours, I think it full of honour and mercy), then I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to hear me, before I am indited, and afterwards, if I must die, humbly to entreat the Queen's Majesty to hasten my trial and execution: which I pray God, with all my heart, may prove as honourable to her, as I hope it will be happy to me.—Who will, while I live (as I have done always), pray to Jesus Christ for her Majesty's long and prosperous reign. From the Tower, the 18th of February, 1584. WILLIAM PARRY.

"And according to his own last request, his inditement was framed, and arraignment performed at Westminster Hall, where meeting the judgement of a traitor, he was executed in the Palace at Westminster, upon the second of the March following. Amongst many other clear evidences of truth, the letter received from Cardinal Como is not unworthy to be here annexed, whose translation from the original, written in the Italian tongue, is as followeth:

" 'Sir,—His Holiness hath seen your letter of the first, with the assurance included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution, which you write to hold, towards the service and benefit public: wherein his Holiness doth exhort you to persevere, with causing to be brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much more holpen by that good spirit which hath moved you thereunto: his Holiness doth grant you pleasing indulgence and remission of all your sins, according to your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that you shall receive therefore in Heaven, his Holiness will further make himself debtor, to acknowledge and requite your deservings by the best means he may. And that so much the more, in that you use the more modesty, in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and

honourable determinations, and attend your health. And, to conclude, I offer myself unto you heartily, and wish all good and happy success. From Rome, the 30th of January, 1584.

" ' At your disposing,

" ' N. CARD. of COMO.'

" Had not her Majesty just cause to complain as she did?—when, in the honourable assembly of Parliament, she openly professed in these words:—' That she knew no creature breathing whose life stood hourly in more peril than her own; and that, even at her first entrance into her estate, she entered into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wrestle with great and mighty enemies.'

" And yet, in confidence of her celestial Protector, and of her own innocency, she often appeared too remiss and neglective in the care of herself and life, as appeared manifestly by her proceedings with this last traitor, in keeping a conference she had with him, of very great importance, from the knowledge of her councellors, and often admitting privily of his access, though he had told her he was the man appointed to work her death. And, indeed, such was this Princess's magnanimity, that, in an apparent danger, as great, though not so traitorous as this, she shewed a resolution of courage far above her sex.

" When once on a time, being in her barge upon the Thames to take the air, accompanied by

the French ambassador, the Earl of Lincoln, and others, a serving man in the court, named Thomas Appletree, from his culiver discharged a bullet, and shot the waterman, within six foot of her seat, (the second to her Bales) through both the arms; whereupon, all others being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, she threw him her scarf, and with words of comfort bade him be of good cheer, for he should not want, the bullet being aimed at her, though it hit him. And with such resolute courage bore it out, as all present admired. Not so only, but knowing afterwards that it was done casually at random, she both pardoned the party of life, when he was to die, and commanded his master to retain him again in his service."

Queen Elizabeth's earnest command to her Counsellors and Judges, from her gracious love to her people in general.

"Have care of my people, (said the queen) you have my place; do you to them what I ought to do, they are my people, yet every man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. Themselves can neither help themselves, nor revenge their quarrel; see unto them I pray you, see unto them,

for they are my charge, them therefore I charge with you, even as God hath committed them unto me. I care not for myself, my life is not dear unto me, my care is for my people; I pray God that my successor be as careful for them, and surely they that might know my cares for my people, may likewise conceive, that I take no great joy in wearing a crown."

Conceiving that the minute particulars of this great sovereign's (Queen Elizabeth) reign, will be found interesting to all readers, I shall give in full, an account of the last attempt on her life, in the words of the historian.

"The last public attempter that essayed the Queen's death, was Edward Squire, a scrivener, of Greenwich, who, by deputation, had employment as purveyor in the stable; but being in wit above his vocation, and carrying his sails above his fortune, put himself in action for sea, in the last voyage which Sir Francis Drake made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a small ship, called the Francis, who, losing the fleet about Gaudalupe, was taken by a fine Spanish frigate, and with others brought prisoners to Spain; where,

falling into acquaintance with Richard Walpole, an English fugitive, by order a Jesuit, in great credit, and Vicar General to Parsons; in his absence, was by him observed to be of more capacity than commonly was found in a man of his quality and education; for years mature, and passed his middle age; for carriage well advised, and resolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his imminent danger.

"Upon him Walpole therefore intended to work, conceiving for his purpose two special advantages; the one, that coming into Spain a prisoner, and not a fugitive, his return into England would be without suspect; the other, that Squire had been employed in the Queen's stable, and therefore had liberty of free access. But the more to involve what he intended, he subtlely caused Squire to be apprehended by the officers of the Inquisition, and put prisoner into that Holy House; where, molified by distress, he got his heart into his hands, so that of neuter, he became a fixed Roman Catholic.

"This first essay proving effectual for an introduction for his further intendments, he fell into the old song, whose burden was the tyranies used, and the persecutions exercised in England against the poor Catholics, upon how few persons the English stake did stand, and how easily those props were to be removed, if any devoted would put to their hands. Squire, who wanted no wit

to perceive whereat he aimed, first gave some slight signification, and afterwards a more serious protestation, that he was the man that would sacrifice himself and his service to the cause.

"The good father having thus got him into the circle, began then the charm: 'It were,' said he, 'no doubt a work meritorious, to kill the Earl of Essex, but one thing is necessary.' And then told him plainly, that he meant to put a service upon him of great worth and reward, which he might accomplish without any evident peril of life, because it was to be done, not immediately upon her person, nor in her presence, neither yet in doing it, though he were seen, should be endangered, being acted as he would prescribe; and that was to poison the pommel of the Queen's saddle, at such time as she should ride abroad, the pommel being the place whereon she would rest her hand, and her hand not unlikely to touch her mouth or nostrils, would give access to the forcible poison. 'This,' said he, 'might easily be performed, he having familiar acquaintance in the quirry, yea, and that very safely; but if otherwise, and immediate death happened in consequence, he should be assured, that for the exchange of this present and transitory life, to enjoy the state of a glorious saint in Heaven.'

"Which syren's song ended, and Squire inveigled; confessions, vows, promises, receipt of sacrament, and all confirmed the resolution of the

yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, than Saint Paul's did when he shook off the viper into the fire.

"The deed thus done, without all mistrust, Squires taking the remains of the poison, within six days after, departed to the sea, and had his entertainment in the Earl of Essex's own ship, where seeking to finish his devilish design, bestowed his confections upon the pommels of a wooden chair, wherein the Earl usually sat at meals, which, in like manner (the Lord so working) took not effect, to the no little admiration of Squires; though very well satisfied that the fault was not his, but rather in the poison itself: and his vow now discharged, (as he thought) he now slept more quiet."

Through the treachery of the Jesuits who betrayed Squires, from the supposition (as the poison failed of effect) that he had not made the attempt, he was apprehended; when, after having given the foregoing account, without remorse of conscience, he received sentence of death, and suffered accordingly. A. D. 1597.

An Ode, by Theodorus Beon, a stranger, of eminent piety and learning, on the defeat of the

Spanish Armada, which was translated (from the Latin it was first written in) into all the chief languages of Christendom, to be perpetuated unto all ensuing posterities.

Spain's king, with navies high, the seas bestrew'd,
To augment with English crown, his Spanish sway;
Ask ye what caus'd his proud attempt? 'Twas lewd
Ambition drove, and Avarice led the way.
'Tis well; Ambition's windy puff lies drown'd
By winds, and swelling hearts by swelling waves:
'Tis well; these Spaniards, who the world's vast round
Devour'd, devouring seas most justly craves.

But thou, O Queen, for whom winds, seas do war,
O thou, sole glory of this world's wide mass;
So reign to God still, from Ambition far,
So still, with bounteous aids, the good embrace;
That thou England long, long England may thee enjoy,
Thou terror of all bad, thou good men's joy.

A Prayer made by Queen Elizabeth, for the prosperity of her Navy.

"Most Omnipotent Maker, and guider of the world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended. Thou, that by thy foresight doth truly discern how

no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greatness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out army, but a needful care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over security had, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them. These being the grounds wherewith thou doest inspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee, with bended knees, prosper the work; and with best fore winds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of the English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord give, that thou thy blessing grant.

The answer of Queen Elizabeth to the Polish Ambassador, who had delivered a very rude oration before her, in Latin, respecting some demands which were made by his king, Sigismund, the young, and new elected King of Poland. This ambassador was named Paulius de Jaline, a gentleman learned, eloquent, and very audacious: he had audience of her majesty at Greenwich, where, sitting under her cloth of estate, and with all her nobles, attending the sum of his message, &c. &c.

" The confident oration concluded, the Queen herself, not brooking to be braved by any Prince in the world, presently made answer, preventing the Lord Chancellor therein, who was about to do it, and both roundly and learnedly, in the Latin, (the language wherein the message was delivered) replied the very words, as nearly as they could be taken from her mouth, were these.

" 'Oh! how was I deceived, I looked for an embassage, but thou hast brought me complaints; I understood by thy letters, that thou wast a legate, but I find thee a herald; never since I drew breath, heard I such an oration. I marvel truly, I marvel at so great, and such an unaccustomed boldness, in so public an assembly; neither do I think, if the king, thy master, were present, that he would say so much; but, if peradventure, he hath committed any such thing to thy charge, (which surely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed unto him, that where the king is of years unripe, and not by blood, but by election; yea, and but newly advanced, he doth not so perfectly understand the course of negociating these kind of affairs with other princes, which, either his ancestors have observed with us, or perhaps others will observe, who afterwards shall succeed him. As touching thyself, indeed thou seemest to have read many books, but not to have perused the books of prince's affairs, but to be utterly ignorant of what is convenient amongst kings. And

whereas, thou makest mention of the law of nature and nations, know that this is the law, both natural and national, that when war is waged among princes, it is lawful for one of them to intercept the military helps of the other, brought from what place soever, so to prevent the harms which might otherwise redound upon himself; and this again I know to be the law of nature and of nations. 'Whereas, thou mentioneth a new affinity with the House of Austria, which now thou makest so famous, and of so dear esteem; forget not, Sir, that there have been of that house, that would have bereft the kingdom of Poland from thy king. As for other points which be not to be spoken of, in this place and time, because they are many, and severally to be considered of one after another; thou shalt wait for such further answer, as shall be resolved on by some of my council, to whom I will assign the consideration of this matter; in the mean time, farewell, and be quiet.'

"And thus, lion like rising, daunted the malapert orator, no less with her stately port and majestical departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks; and turning to the train of her attendants, thus said, 'God's death, my lords, (for that was her oath ever in anger) I have been enforced this day to scower up all my old Latin, that hath lain long in rusting."

Two curious and interesting letters are here introduced, the one from the Lord Keeper (in whose custody he then was) to the great and famous Earl of Essex, favourite of Queen Elizabeth; the other the Earl's answer. In these words it is recorded by the historian. *Speed.*

"To which purpose he also wrote him a letter of pithy and sapient persuasion, out of the abundance of his well wishing heart, the copy whereof we hold worthy to be here presented.

"*The Lord Keeper to the Earl of Essex.—July* 18*th*, 1598.

"My very good Lord,—It is often seen that a stander by seeth more than he that playeth the game; and, for the most part, every man in his own cause standeth in his own light, and seeth not so clearly as he should. Your Lordship hath dealt in other men's causes, and in great and weighty affairs, with great wisdom and judgement; now your own is in hand, you are not to condemn or refuse the advice of any that loveth you, how simple so ever. In this order I range myself, of those that love you none more simple, and none that loveth you with more true and honest affection: which shall plead mine excuse,

if you shall either mistake or miscontrue my words or meaning; but, in your Lordship's honourable wisdom, I neither doubt or suspect the one or the other. I will not presume to advise you, but I will shoot my bolt, and tell you what I think. The beginning and too long continuing of this unseasonable discontent you have seen and proved, by which you may aim at the end. If you hold still in this course (which hitherto you have found worse and worse, and the longer you go the further out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood that the end will be better. You are not yet so far gone, but you may well return; the return is safe, but the progress dangerous and desperate.

"In this course you hold, if you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves. Your friends you leave open to scorn, reproach, and contempt; you forsake yourself and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that courage and comfort to the fortunate enemies, as greater they cannot have. For what can be more welcome, or more pleasing news to them, then to hear that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member, who hath so often and so valiantly quelled them, and daunted their hopes? You forsake your country when it hath most need of your councell and help, and lastly you fail in that indissoluble duty which you owe to your most

gracious Sovereign. A duty imposed upon you, not by nature, or policy only, but by that religious and sacred hand wherein the divine majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you.

"For the four first, your constant resolution may perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but, being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the two last, it may be, that the clearness of your inward conscience may serve to content yourself; but that is not enough, these duties stand not in contemplation or in inward meditation; their effects be external action, and when that faileth, the substance faileth.

"This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? What is the remedy? My good Lord, I lack wisdom and judgement to advise you; but I will never lack an honest heart to wish well, nor (being warranted by a good conscience) will fear to speak what I think.

"I have began plainly, be not offended if I proceed so; the medicine and the remedy is, not to contend and strain, but humbly to yield and submit. Have you given a cause, and yet take a scandal unto you? Then all you can do is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given unto you? Yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue and yield to your Sovereign, between whom and you there can be no propor-

tion of duty. When God requires it, as a principal duty and service to himself; and when it is evident that great good may ensue of it to your friends, yourself, your country, and your Sovereign, and extreem harm by the contrary: there can be no dishonour or hurt to yield, but in not doing it is dishonour and impiety.

"The difficulty, my good Lord, is to conquer yourself, which is the height of good valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honourable actions have intended. Do it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majesty (I doubt not) well satisfied, your country will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and yourself (I mention you last, for I well know that of all these you esteem yourself least) shall receive honour, and your enemies (if you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hopes.

"I have delivered what I think simply and truly; and leave you to determine, according to your wisdom. If I have erred, it is *error amoris*, not *amor erroris*; construe and accept it, I beseech you, as I mean it; not as an advice, but as an opinion, to be allowed or cancelled at your pleasure. If I might have conveniently conferred with yourself in person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoever you judge of this mine opinion, yet be assured, my desire is to further all good means that may tend to your good, and so wishing you all honourable

happiness, I rest your Lordship's most ready and faithful, though unable poor friend.

The Earl's answer.

"My very good Lord,—Though there is not the man this day living whom I would sooner make a judge of any question that did concern me then yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that, in some cases, I must appeal from all earthly judges; and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth hath imposed upon me the heaviest punishment, without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordship's arguments, or forsake mine own just defence, I will force my aching head to do me service for an hour.

"I must first deny my discouragement, which was forced to be an humorous discontent, and in that it was unseasonable, and is too long in continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate. Natural seasons are expected here below, but violent and unseasonable storms come from above; there is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time so unreasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their painful and careful labours. He that is once wounded, must feel smart till his wound is cured, or the

part senceless: but cure I expect none, her Majesty's heart being obdurate, and being without sence, I cannot. But then you say, I may aim at the end; I do more then aim, for I see an end of all my fortunes, and have set an end to all my desires. In this course, do I any thing for mine Enemies? When I was present, I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, then have me attendant upon their chariot. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield then no fruit of any love to them; now I am an hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love of me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind blows down? Or do I ruinate mine honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false marks of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the fortunate enemies, because I reserve myself to encounter them, or because I keep mine heart from baseness, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of these considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Sovereign—I answer, that if my country had

at this time need of my public services, her Majesty, who governs it, would not have driven me into a private life.

"I am tied to my country by two bands; one public, to discharge carefully, faithfully, and industriously, that trust which is committed unto me; and the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcass, which have been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed or disabled by her Majesty. Of the other, nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall offer itself but I will meet it half way. The indissoluble duty which I owe to her Majesty is the duty of allegiance, which I will never or can fail in; the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her Majesty service of an Earl, and of a Marshall of England. I have been contented to do her the service of a clerk, but can never serve her as a villain or a slave.—But yet (you say) I must give way to time; so I do, for now I see the storm come, I have put myself into harbour. Seneca says, we must give way to fortune; I know that fortune is blind and strong, and therefore I go as far out of the way as I can. You say, the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy—but I must yield and submit. I can never yield myself to be guilty, or this imposition lately laid upon me, to be just: I owe so much to the author of truth, as I never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to

be truth. Have I given cause (you ask) and take a scandal? No, I gave not cause to take up so much as Fimbrius his complaint, for I did—*totum, tetum corpore, accipere.* I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all that I then received. When this scandal was given me, nay when the vilest of all indignities were done unto me, doth religion enforce me to serve? Doth God require it? It is impiety not to do it? Cannot Princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never submit to these principles; but Solomon's fool laughs when he is stricken. Let those who mean to make their profit by Princes' faults, shew to have no fear of Princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe in an absolute infiniteness in Heaven. As for me, I have received wrong; I feel it; my cause is good; I know it; and whatsoever come, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength and constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering whatsoever shall be imposed upon me.

"Your Lordship, in the beginning of your letter, made yourself a looker on, and me a player of mine own game; so you may see more than I do: but you must give me leave to tell you, in the end of mine, since that you but see, and I suffer, I must of necessity feel more than you. I must crave your Lordship's patience, to give him that

hath a crabbed fortune leave to use a crabbed style: but whatsoever my style is, there is no heart more humble, nor more effected toward your Lordship, then that of your Lordship's poor friend,

"ESSEX."

The reign of Queen Elizabeth is drawn in such flattering colours by most historians (but more particularly by those who wrote at that period), that impartiality demands a contrast to the numerous virtues she is so universally allowed to possess, to be brought forward, in which will be discovered a cruel and tyrannical disposition; amongst many instances, there is none more decidedly so than the case of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, a catastrophe too well known to require much said on the subject;—yet this work could not be considered as complete without introducing some account of it: a selection, therefore, is made from the best authorities—Stranguage, Cambden, &c. &c.

The Queen of Scotland being informed that the Parliament of England had confirmed the sen-

tence pronounced against her by the Commissioners, wrote the following letter to Queen Elizabeth:

"MADAM,—I give thanks to God, with all my heart, who, by the sentence of death, hath been pleased to put an end to the tedious pilgrimage of my life. I desire not that it may be prolonged, having had too long a time to try the bitterness of it. I only beseech your Majesty, since I am to expect no favour from some zealous ministers of state, who hold the first place in your councels, I may receive from you only, and from no other, these following favours:—In the first place, I desire, that since it is allowed me to hope for a burial place in England, that I may be decently interred, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church, of which I am a member, and in which faith all your Predecessors and mine lived and died; and when my enemies are satisfied with the shedding of my blood, that my servants may be allowed to carry my bones into France, to be there interred with the bones of the Queen, my most honoured mother. Secondly, I beseech your Majesty, in the apprehension which I have of the tyranny of those to whose power you abandon me, that I may not suffer in any private place, but in the view of my servants, and other people, who may give a testimony of my faith, and of my obedience to the true church, and defend this pe-

riod of my life against the false reports which my adversaries may contrive against me. In the third place, I require that my servants, who have attended on me with great fidelity, during so many afflictions, may have free leave to retire where they please, and enjoy those small legacies which, in my last will, my poverty has bequeathed to them. I conjure you, Madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by the nearness of our consanguinity, by the memory of Henry the Seventh, our common father, and by the title of a Queen, which I carry to my grave, not to deny me these reasonable demands, but by one word, under your hand, to grant me an assurance of them—then I shall die as I have lived,

"Your most affectionate sister,

1587. "MARY R."

There is in Mr. Crawford's Collections, in the Lawyer's Library, a copy of a relation writ by an eye-witness, by Secretary Cecil's command, of the Queen's behaviour a little before and at her execution; which, for the reader's satisfaction is here inserted.

"It being certified to her, on the sixth of February, 1587, by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, Sir Amias Paulett, and Sir Drew Drury, that

she was to prepare herself to die on the eighth; she seemed no ways concerned, but received the message with a smile, and said, "That death was welcome to her, since her majesty would have it so; and that soul unworthy of the fruition of heavenly joys for ever, whose body, in this world, would not be content to endure the stroke of the executioner for a moment.'

Then she desired that she might have the liberty to confer with her Confessor, about the state of her soul; and with Melvin, her steward, concerning her testament; and required that she might have some longer time allowed her to put her affairs in order. But the Earl of Shrewsbury replied, 'No, no, Madam, you must die; and we cannot grant longer delay, nor your Confessor, but we will send you the Dean of Peterborough;' but she would not hear of him, and so they left her.

"When they were gone, she commanded them to make haste with her supper, and she supped sparingly; but after the same manner that she usually did. In time of supper, perceiving her servants all in tears, with an undaunted mind, she exhorted them to be cheerful, and rather to rejoice than mourn, for she was now to be freed from all her troubles and sufferings. Then calling for a glass of wine, she drank to them all, and made each of them pledge her, which they did upon their knees, mingling their tears with their wine, and

begging pardon for neglect of duty. After supper she read over her testament, and the inventory of her goods and moveables, and wrote on them the names of those to whom she appointed them; and the gold and silver she had, she put in different purses, according to the number of her servants, and according to their merit and qualities, and distributed it amongst them. Then she called for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote to her son, the King of France, the Guises, and to her Confessor, to pray to God for her. After this she went to bed, and slept soundly for some hours, and the rest of the night she spent in prayer.

"The fatal day being come, betwixt eight and nine in the morning she was advertised by Thomas Andrews, Sheriff of the Shires, whilst she was at her prayers, that the hour was come, upon which she immediately arose and went with him. She appeared on the day appointed, being tall of body, corpulent, round shouldered, her face fat and broad, double chined, and hazel eyed, her borrowed hair brown. Her attire was, she had on her head a dressing of lawn, edged with bonlace, a pomander chain, and an Agnus Dei about her neck, a crucifix in her hand, and a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them; a veil of lawn fastened on her caul, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bonlace; her gown was of black satin printed, with a train, and long sleeves to the ground, set with

acorn buttons of jet, trimmed with pearls, and short sleeves of black cut satin, with a pair of sleeves of purple velvet whole; under them her mirtle whole, of figured black satin, her petticoat upper body inlaid in the back of crimson satin, and her petticoat skirts of crimson velvet, her shoes of Spanish leather, with the rough side outwards, a pair of green silk garters, her nether stockings worsted coloured, watched and clocked with silver, and edged on the top with silver, and next her legs a pair of Jersey hose white. Thus attired, she went cheerfully to the place of execution, being gently supported by two of Sir Amies Pawlett's chief gentlemen; Mr. Andrews, the High Sheriff, going before her, she was met at the Great Hall by the two Earls, and all the rest.

"At the entry into the Great Hall, she found her servant Melvil kneeling, who, all in tears, addressed her thus.

"'Ah! Madam, unhappy me, what man on earth was ever before the messenger of such important sorrow and heaviness as I shall be, when I shall report that my good and gracious Queen and mistress is beheaded in England.' And there he stopped, not being able to say more for weeping. Then the Queen said to him, 'My good and faithful servant, cease to lament, for thou hast cause rather to rejoice than mourn, for now thou shalt see Mary Stuart's troubles receive their long expected end; for, know my good servant, that all

the world is but vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I do die a true woman to my religion, and like a woman of Scotland and France. But God forgive them that have long desired away my life, and thirsted after my blood, as the hart doth for the water brooks. Oh, God! thou who are the author of truth, and truth itself, knows the inward chamber of my thoughts, how that I was ever willing that Scotland and England should be united together. Well! commend me to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland. Good Melvil farewel.'

"And then she gave him her hand to kiss, and was observed to drop some tears, which was thought to proceed from the mentioning her son; then she said again, 'Good Melvil farewel, and pray for thy mistress and Queen.' Then turning to the lords, she told them, 'That she had some few things to ask of them; one was, for a sum of money, which Sir Amies Pawlett knew she owed to one Curl, her servant; next, that her poor servants might have and enjoy, with quietness, what she had given them by her will and testament; that they might be favourably treated, and sent safely to their respective countries: and lastly, that her poor servants might be present at her death, that their eyes might behold, and their hearts be witnesses, how patiently their Queen and mistress

should endure her execution; that thereby they might be able to make a relation, when they came to their own countries, how she died a true constant Catholic to her religion.'

"The Earl of Kent told her, 'That if that were granted, either by their speeches, or practices, they might do things not fitting for them to allow, if it were no more than the superstitious trumpery of dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood.' To which she replied, 'My Lord, I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not deserve any blame, in any of the actions you have named; but alas! poor souls, it would do them good to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard to womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death; and I know her majesty hath not given you any such strict command; but that you may grant me a request of a far greater courtesy than this, though I were a woman of a far meaner station than the Queen of Scotland is.'

"And perceiving that she was not likely to obtain it, she burst forth in tears, saying, 'I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from your blood royal, Henry the Eighth, and a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland.'

"Then the Lords, after several consultations, granted her request, and desired her to chuse a

few of her own servants; and she made choice of Melvil, her physician, and her apothecary, her surgeon, and another old man; and of her women, two that used to sleep in the same room with her.

"Then, supported by Sir Amies Pawlett's two servants, and Melvil carrying up her train, she went into the Great Hall, with an unparallelled courage and serenity of countenance. She went up to the scaffold, the sheriff, lords, knights, and gentlemen going before her; the scaffold was two foot high, and twelve foot broad, with rails round about, hung and covered with black, with a low chair, and a cushion; the block was likewise covered with black: then she, having the chair brought to her, she sat down, and on her right hand stood the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and on her left, Mr. Andrews, the sheriff, and opposite to her the two executioners, and round the rails a great many knights, gentlemen, and others. Silence being made, Queen Elizabeth's commission for the execution was read, by Mr. Beal, Clerk of the Council; and after it was done, all the people with a loud voice, cried, 'God save the Queen.' During the reading of the commission, she was very silent, listening to it with so careless a regard, and such a cheerful countenance, as if it had been a remission for her.

"Then, Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing directly before her, without the rails, bending his body with great reverence, gave

her a long exhortation, which she interrupted three times, by telling him, 'Mr. Dean, do not trouble yourself, or me; for know that I am settled in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion, in defence whereof, by God's grace, I mind to spend my blood.' And, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the Dean, backed by that of the two Earls, she would not join with them in prayer, but prayed aloud, in Latin, all the time; but when the Dean was done, she kneeled and prayed, in English, for Christ's afflicted church, for Queen Elizabeth, and for her son. Then, holding up the crucifix, which she held in her hand, she said, 'That she hoped to be saved, in and by the blood of Jesus Christ, at the foot of whose crucifix she shed her blood.' After prayer she kissed the crucifix, and signing herself with the cross, she said, "Even as thy arms, Jesus Christ, was spread here upon the cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me all my sins.'

"Then, forgiving her executioners and all her enemies, she hastened her maids to take off her upper garments; and finding that they could not refrain from weeping most bitterly, and crying aloud, she gently reproved them; saying, that she had passed her word for their good behaviour; and then signing them with the cross, she embraced, kissed them, and bade them farewell. Her face being then covered with a linen cloth, she

laid her head down upon the block, she repeated aloud the 31st Psalm; 'In thee, O Lord, I put my trust,' and stretching out her arms, after she had repeated the whole Psalm, repeated again the fifth verse: 'Unto thine hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.' This was the sign she had appointed for the executioner; who gave her three strokes with the axe, before he separated her head from the body. Then, taking up the head, he shewed it openly, all full of blood, and mangled with the strokes he had given it, (yet still carrying those attractive charms of beauty and majesty, that were so conspicuous in her) with a loud voice, he said, 'Long live Queen Elizabeth, and so let the enemies of the Gospel perish:' which words were repeated by the Dean and the two Earls; but all the rest of the spectators were dissolved in tears, for amongst them all, there were not above four able to contain themselves from weeping most bitterly; yet, amidst their tears, she shewed such a serenity and firmness of soul, that is hard to be imitated; telling the spectators, with a smile, when her maids were undressing her for execution, 'That it was a new spectacle, to behold a Queen brought to die upon a scaffold; and that she used not to be undressed before so great a company, and to have two hangmen to attend her for her Grooms of the Chambers; but' she added, 'we must submit to what Heaven is pleased to

have done, and obey the decrees of Divine Providence.'

"There was one remarkable thing which happened at her death, and which ought not to be omitted, and that is, the strange and surprising instinct of a little dog that she had, whom they could never separate from her without doing violence to her majesty, sheltering himself always beneath her royal robes; and when the blood began to flow about him, he lapped some of it, and would never afterwards be induced to take meat or drink, but died for grief, &c. &c."

Sir Thomas Craig's description of Mary Queen of Scots.

"I have often heard the most serene Princess Mary, Queen of Scotland, discourse so appositely and rationally in all affairs, which were brought before the Privy Councel, that she was admired by all; and when most of the councellors were silent, being astonished, they straight declared themselves to be of her opinion; she rebuked them sharply, and exhorted them to speak freely, as became unprejudiced councellors, against her opinion, that the best reasons might overrule their

determinations. And truly her reasonings were so strong and clear, that she could turn their hearts to what side she pleased. She had not studied law, and yet by the natural light of her judgment, when she reasoned on matters of equity and justice, she oft times had the advantage of the ablest lawyers. Her other discourses and actions were suitable to her great judgment; no word ever dropped from her mouth, that was not exactly weighed and pondered. As for her liberality and other virtues, they were well known."

Craig's Answer to Doleman.

"She was interred in the cathedral church of Peterborough, and her funerals were kept most magnificently in Paris, at the charge of the Guises, who performed all the best offices of kindred for their cousin, both alive and dead, to their great commendation. Near to the grave the following epitaph, in the Latin tongue, was affixed, and forthwith taken away. It is thus translated."

"Mary, Queen of Scotland, daughter of a king, widow of the King of France, kinswoman and next heir to the Queen of England, adorned with royal virtues and princely spirit; having often, but in vain, implored to have the right due to a prince, done unto her. The ornament of our age, and mirror of princes, by a barbarous and tyrannous cruelty is cut off; and by one and the same in-

famous judgment, both Mary, Queen of Scotland, is punished with unnatural death, and all kings living, as well as other men, made liable to a civil death. A strange and unheard of grave is here, in which the living are included with the dead; for with the ashes of this blessed Mary, know thou, that the majesty of all kings and princes are depressed and violated. And because this regal secret doth sufficiently admonish all kings of their duty. Traveller, I will say no more."

"Great search was made after the author of this epitaph, but he could not be discovered; but it was afterwards found to be composed by the famous Adam Blackwood."

An Account of the Entertainment given to King James the First, by Sir Oliver Cromwell, on his first coming to the Crown. Lindsay.

"On the 27th of April, his highness removed towards Hinchingbrook, to Sir Oliver Cromwell's, and by the way dined at Sir Anthony Mildmay's, where nothing wanted in a subjects duty to his sovereign. Dinner and banquet being passed, and the king about to depart, Sir Anthony presented his Grace with a gallant Barbary horse,

and rich saddle and furniture suitable, which his highness thankfully accepted, and rode toward Sir Oliver Cromwell's; and about some half mile before he came there, his majesty was met by the Bailie of Huntingdon, who made to him a long oration, and there delivered to him the sword, which his highness gave to the Earl of Southampton, to bear before him to Sir Oliver Cromwell's house; where his highness, with all their comers, had such entertainment, as not the like had been seen before. The particulars thereof (as I have heard) are as followeth. There was such plenty and variety of meats, and diversity of wines, and the cellars open to every man's pleasure. There attended also at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, the heads of the University of Cambridge, all clad in scarlet gowns and corner caps; which, having presence of his majesty, there made an eloquent and learned oration, in Latin, welcoming his majesty, and also entreating the confirmation of their priviledges, which his grace most willingly granted.

"Mr. Cromwell presented his majesty with many rich and acceptable gifts, as a very great and fair wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep mouthed hounds, divers hawks, of excellent wing, and at the remove, gave fifty pounds sterling amongst his majesty's officers.

A relation of the Clemency of James the First, and a copy of a letter written with his own hand, to counter-check his former warrant for the execution of the Lords Grey and Cobham, and of Markham, for Treason. These executions were to take place on the Friday following, before ten of the clock. Notwithstanding, his Majesty, more moved to mild mercy then to the high strain of justice, of his princely and free clemency gave life unto those persons expecting present death, and wrote in these words: *(Speed.)*

" Although it be true that all well governed and flourishing kingdoms, and commonwealths, are established by justice, and that these two, noblemen by birth, that are now upon the point of execution, are, for their treasonable practices, condemned by the law, and adjudged worthy of the execution thereof, to the example and terror of others: the one of them having filthily practised the overthrow of the whole kingdom, and the other for the surprize of our own person: yet, in regard that this is the first year of our reign in this kingdom, and that never king was so far obliged to his people, as we have been to this, by our entry here, with so hearty and general applause of all sorts.—Amongst whom, all the kins-

folks, friends, and allies of the said condemned persons, were as forward and dutiful as any other our good subjects, as also, at the very time of their attainture and arraignment, none did more freely and readily give their assent to their conviction, and to deliver them into the hands of justice, then so many of their nearest kinsmen and allies (as being Peers) were upon their jury; as likewise, in regard that justice hath in some sort gotten course already, by the execution of the two Priests, and George Brook, that were the principal plotters and enticers of all the rest: to the embracing of the said treasonable machinations, we, therefore, being resolved to mix clemency with justice, are contented, and by these presents command you, our present Sheriff of Hampshire, to supercede the execution of the said two noblemen, and to take them back to their prison again, till our further pleasure be known. And since we will not have our laws to have respect to persons, in sparing the great and striking the meaner sort, it is our pleasure that the like course be also taken with Markham, being sorry from our heart, that such is not only the heinous nature of the said condemned persons' crime, but even the corruption is so great, as their natural dispositions, as the care we have, for the safety and quiet of our state and good subjects, will not permit us to use that clemency towards them, which, in our own

natural inclinations, we might very easily be persuaded unto."

"This letter, thus framed, the delivery thereof his Majesty committed unto one John Gibbs, a Scottish gentleman, a discreet person, and free from dependency of any nobleman or councellor, neither was he of any extraordinary rank, as well that the bystanders should not observe any alteration for the execution, or the delinquents themselves take any apprehension by his presence; to the end, that each of them should prepare to breathe out their last breath, with a true confession of their secret consciences.

"The time approaching, Sir Griffin Markham was brought to the scaffold (to that end erected on the Castle Green), and made himself ready for the stroke of the axe, when secretly Master Gibb delivered unto the Sheriff, Sir Benjamin Tichborne, the King's warrant to the contrary, who, soon perceiving his Majesty's intent, took back the prisoner (as if he were first to confront the two Lords in the hall, upon some service to the King) from the scaffold, and brought him into the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord Grey brought forth, who having poured out his prayers unto God, at length kneeling down for the stroke of death, the Sheriff bad stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him, and

thereupon likewise led him into the Castle. The Lord Cobham then was brought to the scaffold, who, being in prayers, and preparation for death, the Lord Grey and Sir Griffin were brought back again, where the prisoners, all three appearing together on the scaffold, the Sheriff notified his Majesty's warrant for the stay of their execution; and that as then they should not die. Upon which rare clemency, unexpected both of prisoners and spectators, arose such shouts of the people as was wonderful, crying 'God save the King;' and the condemned, overcome with his clemency, wished they might sacrifice their lives to redeem their own faults, and to repurchase so merciful a Prince's love."

The compiler of this work (conceiving it more particularly adapted for the perusal of youth, or those whose reading is confined) has, throughout, endeavoured to select such passages from the ancient English authors, as, together with amusement and information, should convey the finest moral lessons to the mind. It cannot, therefore, be continued with a more appropriate story for that purpose, then the one which follows; and which is introduced to prove, in the most forcible

manner, of how little estimation youth, beauty, rank, splendour, and princely favour is, when unattended by those superior advantages, which are the chief and most brilliant ornaments of human nature—virtue, honour, religion, justice, and morality.

The story of Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset.

"About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London. All his natural accomplishments consisted in his beauty: all his acquired abilities in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman, Lord Hay, and that nobleman no sooner cast his eyes upon him, then, recollecting the king's passion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, he studied how matters might be adjusted that this new object might make the strongest impression upon him. Without mentioning him at Court, he assigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device, and hoped he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his design, by an accident, which bore at first a contrary aspect.

"When Carr was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse flung him, and broke his leg, in the king's presence. James approached with pity and concern; love and affection arose on the sight of his beauty and tender years, and the Prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the Palace, and to be carefully attended. He himself, after the tilting, paid him a visit, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the boy compleating the conquest, begun by his exterior graces and accomplishments—James became desirous that this new favourite should derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he pleased himself with the fancy of rendering this raw youth (by his own instructions) equal in knowledge to his sagest ministers. Every day growing more attached to this minion, he soon knighted him, created him Viscount Rochester, gave him the Garter, and brought him into the Privy Councell.

"The favourite was not at first so intoxicated with advancement, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience, in which he had recourse to the advice and assistance of his friend Sir Thomas Overbury, who was a judicious and sincere councellor, who endeavoured to instill into him the principles of prudence and discretion. And so long as he was contented to be ruled by Overbury advice, and friendly councell, he en-

joyed, what is rare, the highest favour of the Prince, without being hated by the people.

"To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind and beautiful mistress; and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it was here that the favourite met with that rock, on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever in an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

"No sooner had James mounted the throne, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families, by the marriage of the Earl of Essex with Lady Francis Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, (he having conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton, on two brothers of the house of Norfolk). She being then only thirteen, and the Earl fourteen, it was judged proper he should pass some years abroad on his travels.

"After an absence of four years he returned to England, and was highly delighted to find his Countess in the full lustre of beauty, and the admiration of the whole court. But when the Earl approached to claim her as his bride, he met with

the coldest repulse, and positive refusal to receive him as her husband. Disgusted with reiterated denials of his claim to her affections, he at last gave over the pursuit, and abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion.

"Such coldness and aversion in Lady Essex, arose from her strong attachment to another object; the favourite had offered his addresses to her, and had been too successful in making an impression on the tender heart of the Countess: and the lover and the mistress looked forward with impatient anxiety, for the moment when a divorce from her marriage with the Earl of Essex, should permit their public union.

"So momentous an affair could not be concluded without consulting Overbury, with whom Rochester was accustomed to share all his secrets. But great was Overbury's alarm and dismay, when Rochester mentioned his design of marrying the Countess; and he used every method to dissuade his friend from so foolish an attempt; he represented how invidious, how difficult an enterprize it was to procure her divorce from her husband; how dangerous, how shameful to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And in the zeal of friendship, went so far as to threaten Rochester, that he would separate

himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest, as to prosecute the intended marriage.

"Rochester had the weakness to reveal this conversation to the Countess of Essex; and when her rage and fury broke out on Overbury, he had also the weakness to enter into her vindictive projects, and to swear revenge against his friend, but for this purpose some contrivance was necessary. Rochester addressed himself to the king, and after complaining that his own indulgence to Overbury had begot in him a degree of arrogance, which was extremely disagreeable, he procured a commission for his embassy to Russia, which he represented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When consulted by Overbury, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himself the task of satisfying the king, if he should be any ways displeased at his refusal. To the king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's refusal and conduct, so much, that he obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower; which James intended merely as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The Lieutenant of the Tower (Sir Jervis Elvis) was a creature of Rochester's, and had been lately put into that office for this very purpose: he confined Overbury so strictly, that the unhappy prisoner was debarred from the sight of even his nearest relations, and no communication of any kind was

allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison.

"This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose; and the king himself, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendship for the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the Countess a divorce from her husband. Essex also embraced the opportunity of separating himself from a bad woman, by whom he was hated, and he was willing to favour their success by any honourable expedient.

"At length a sentence of divorce was pronounced between the Earl of Essex and his Countess, and to crown the scene, the king, solicitous that the lady should not lose any rank by her new marriage, bestowed on his minion the title of Earl of Somerset.

"Notwithstanding this success, the Countess of Somerset was not satisfied, till she should farther satiate her revenge on Sir Thomas Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons; but at last, they gave him one so sudden and violent, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him. His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation, and though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed, the full

proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years after.

"The favourite had hitherto escaped the enquiry of justice, but he had not escaped that still voice, which can make itself heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court, and astonishes the criminal, with a just representation of his most secret enormities. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received but small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmost kindness and indulgence from his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his politeness and obliging behaviour, were changed into sullenness and silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man, who no longer contributed to his amusement. But at last, the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, decided the favourite's fate, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so well merited.

"An Apothecaries' apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret, and the affair at last came to the ears of Trumball, the king's Envoy in the Low Countries. By his means Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, was informed, and he carried the

intelligence immediately to James. The king, alarmed and astonished, to find such enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his bosom, sent for Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, and earnestly recommended to him the most rigourous and unbiassed scrutiny into this mysterious affair. This injunction was executed with great industry and severity: the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled; the lesser criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, Lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, and Mrs. Turner, were first tried and condemned—Somerset and his Countess were afterwards found guilty—Northampton's death a little before, had saved him from a like fate.

"All the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the punishment due to their crime; but the king bestowed a pardon upon the principals, Somerset and the Countess. To soften the rigour of their fate after some years of imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity; their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred, and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other."

Abridged from Hume's History of England.

The Story of Sir Walter Raleigh, James I. From Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle.

"Now comes to be related, and to be reflected on, a matter of special observation; Sir Walter Raleigh had lived a condemned man, many years in the Tower, and now his destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment. For, out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project unto the king, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such a colour of probability, especially gilding it over with the gold he could fetch over from a mine in Guyana, and that without any wrong at all to the King of Spain, if he might be allowed to go the journey: that the king, if he gave no credit that he could perform it, at least gave way to it, that he should undertake it.

"And thereupon with divers ships, accompanied with many knights, and gentlemen of quality, he set out on his voyage. But when after a long search, or shew of search, no such place of treasure, or no such treasure could be found; whether that he thought it a shame to return home with doing nothing, or that his malus genius thrust him upon the design, he fell upon St. Thomas, a town belonging to the King of Spain, sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it; and here was the first part of his

tragical voyage acted, in the death of his eldest son; the last part was acted in his own death, at his return.

"For Gondamore, the Spanish leiguer, did so aggravate this fact to the king, against him, that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but Raleigh's head; without which, he doubted there would follow a breach of the league between the two nations.

"Raleigh excused this, by saying, he was urged to it by the Spaniards first assaulting of him; and besides that, he could not come to the mine without winning this town. But Gondamore was too strong an adversary for him; and the king prefering the public peace before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way to have the sentence of his former condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon brought to the King's Bench bar, he was not newly arraigned, or indicted, as being already 'mortuces in lege,' but only had the former sentence averred against him; and so carried to the Gate House, and from thence, the next morning, to Parliament Yard; a scaffold was then there erected, upon which, after fourteen years reprieve, his head was cut off; at which time such abundance of blood issued from his veins, as shewed he had stock of nature enough left, to have continued him many years in life, though now above sixty years old.

"And this was the end of the great Sir Walter

Raleigh. Great sometime in the favour of Queen Elizabeth; and next to Drake, the great scourge and hatred of the Spaniards—who had many things to be commended in his life, but none more than his constancy in death; which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain expectation of a better life after it.

Extracts from the Memoir of Sir James Melvil, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and James the First.

The instructions given by the Constable of France to Sir James Melvil, when sent from that kingdom with a commission to execute in Scotland:

"The Queen Regent (continues Sir James) sent to France, advertising her daughter, and her husband, of certain disorders in the kingdom of Scotland, which required help and force to suppress in time, or all would be lost. Declaring that she had ground of fear, that my Lord James, Prior of St. Andrew's, natural son to James the Fifth, would usurp the crown of Scotland, and,

under pretext of the new religion, pluck it clean away from the Queen her daughter, unless sudden remedy were applied thereto. Upon this advertisement, some of the Council of France advised presently to raise a great army for the reducing of Scotland. But the Constable councelled the King, whose pensioner I was for the time, to send me into Scotland. The King first gave me his commission by word of mouth, and then the Constable directed me at length, in his Majesty's presence, as followeth :

" ' Your native Queen (saith he) is married here in France unto the Dauphin, and the King is informed by the Cardinal of Lorrain, that a bastard son to James the Fifth, called the Prior de St. Andre, pretends, under colour of religion, to usurp the kingdom unto himself. His Majesty knows that I was ever against the said marriage, fearing thereby to make our old friends our new enemies, as is like this day to come to pass ; but I gave too great place to the house of Guise, to deal in the affairs of Scotland, because the Queen Regent is their sister. But now, seeing their violent proceedings are like to occasion the loss of the kingdom of Scotland, I must needs meddle and put too my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that kingdom, than apparently they have, I assure you that the king is resolved to hazard his crown, and all that he hath, rather than that your Queen be robbed of her

right, seeing she is now married unto his son. And he resolves to send an army to Scotland for that effect; though he would gladly shun the trouble thereof, if it were possible. For now after his Majesty hath had wars long enough with his old enemies, and hath agreed with them upon very rational considerations, he is loath to enter again into a new and unnecessary war with his old friends; seeing there is a probable ground of conjecture that it is not their default, but that the same is occasioned by the harsh usage they meet with.

" 'I hear that Monsieur d'Osell is choleric, hasty, and too passionate. Such are not qualified to rule over remote and foreign countries. I have also intelligence that the Queen Regent hath not kept all things promised unto them. The King, my master, is not so rash as readily to believe that Scotland, who hath kept so long friendship with France, would now so slightly break their old bond, and abandon their duty to their lawful Prince. The King is well acquainted with the inconvenience which may arise upon so distant and beyond sea wars. He knows what charge it is to furnish out ships, which perchance may be thrice victualled e'er they make sail, by reason of contrary winds, and that your seas are very dangerous. The Marquess d'Elbeuf was driven upon the coast of Normandy when he thought to have landed in Scotland; so that his voyage did

no good, though his preparations for the same were very expensive. Though our army were all well landed in Scotland, how oft might they stand in need of supplies, when we, by reason of these and several the like difficulties, will not be able to help them, whereof we have too good experience, when Monsieur de Lorge was there.

" ' I have brought you up from a child. I understand that you are come of an honourable family. I have assured the King that I have had good proof of your honesty; so that his Majesty is well minded towards you, at whose hand I hope you will deserve a good reward. This is a commission of a far greater importance than that which Bettencourt carried; for the King will stay or send an army according to your report. Give it out that you are only come home to visit your friends. Let neither the Queen Regent, nor d'Osell, know of your commission wherein you are employed by the King, who is now your best master.

" ' First, try diligently and perfectly well whether the said Prior pretends to usurp the crown of Scotland to himself, or as if he moved to take arms only for conscience sake, in defence of his religion, himself, his dependants, and associates. Next try what promises are broken to him and them, by whom, and at whose instance. Thirdly, if they desire another Lieutenant in place of d'Osell.

"'If it be only religion that moves them, we must commit Scottish souls unto God, for we have difficulty enough to rule the consciences of Frenchmen. It is the obedience due unto their lawful Queen with their body that the King desires. If any promise be made them, and not kept, the King nor I are not to be blamed. If they desire any other Lieutenant in place of d'Osell, the King will send one, who I hope will please them.'

"After the Constable had thus ended his instructions, the King laid his hand on my shoulder, and said—'Do as my cousin has directed you, and I shall reward you,' &c.

An interesting account of the first introduction of David Rizzio to the Court of Mary Queen of Scotland, with the remarks of the author on his conduct there; and his excellent advice to that unfortunate man, concerning the impropriety of his behaviour, together with his persuasion to him to alter his manners in those points which rendered him so obnoxious to the nobility and people of Scotland. *Melvin's Memoir.*

"Now there came here, in company with the

Ambassador of Savoy, one David Rizzio, of the county of Piedmont, who was a merry fellow, and a good musician. Her Majesty had three valets of her chamber, who sung three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part. Therefore they told her Majesty of this man, as one fit to make the fourth in concert. Thus he was drawn in sometimes to sing with the rest; and afterwards, when her French Secretary retired himself to France, this David obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence how to manage the same rightly; for frequently, in the presence of the nobility, he would be publicly speaking to her Majesty, even when there was greatest conventions of the states. —Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatures to be subscribed by her Majesty. So that some of the nobility would frown upon him; others would shoulder and shoot by him when they entered the Queen's chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For those who had great affairs of law, new infestments to to be taken, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at Court, or in law-suits before the session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich. Yet he wanted not his own fears; therefore he lamented his estate to me, asking one day my councel how to behave himself. I told him,

that strangers were commonly envied when they meddled too much in the affairs of other countries. He said, that he being secretary to her Majesty in the French tongue, had occasion thereby to be frequently in her Majesty's company, as her former secretary used to be. I answered again, that it was thought that the greatest part of the affairs of the country passed through his hands, which gave great offence to the nobility. I advised him (in their presence), to retire from the Queen, giving them place; and that he might desire the Queen to permit him to take that way. I told him, for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he caused me to sit at his own table, and that he used frequently to confer with me in presence of his whole Court; whereat divers of them took great indignation against me; which, so soon as I perceived, I requested him to permit me to sit from his own table with the rest of the gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to call me by a page to his chamber when he had any service to command me. Seeing otherwise he would prejudge himself and me, both by giving ground of discontent to his subjects, in too much noticing a stranger, and so expose me to their fury. Which I obtained; and that way my master was not hated, nor I any more envied. I advised him to take the like course, if he was resolved to act as a wise man. Which council he

said he was resolved to follow. But afterwards told me, that the Queen would not suffer him, but would needs have him carry himself as formerly. I answered, that I was sorry for the inconvenience which might follow thereupon.

"And afterwards, finding the envy against Rizzio still to encrease, and that by his ruin, which I did foresee to be inevitable, her Majesty might incur displeasure, and her affairs be prejudged, seeing that I clearly perceived that the extraordinary favour she carried to that man did much alienate the hearts of her own subjects from her: I remembered her Majesty's command lately laid upon me, when she particularly enjoined me to forewarn her of any circumstance to be observed in her carriage which I thought could tend to her prejudice. I had before this time taken some such freedom, in desiring her to desist from some things which I knew to be dissatisfactory to her subjects; and upon my acquainting her Majesty therewith, she had been pleased to reform them. The reflexion hereupon encouraged me the more cheerfully, in hope of the like success, to forewarn her Majesty of the inconveniences I did foresee would inevitably follow, if she in time did not alter her carriage to Rizzio.

"Therefore, upon the first opportunity, I took occasion to enter with her Majesty upon this discourse, representing, in the most humble manner, what I did upon rational consideration conjecture

would be the consequences of the too public demonstrations of favour she gave to Rizzio, a stranger, and one suspected by her subjects to be a pensioner of the Pope's. That though they were resolved not to challenge her Majesty's religion, though contrary to theirs, allowing for liberty of conscience—yet it was not to be supposed, but the too much owning of Rizzio, a known minion of the Pope's, would give ground of suspicion, that some design to the prejudice of the established religion would be by him contrived. That to prevent this, her subjects would find themselves obliged to use all their endeavours to ruin a man, and a stranger, from whom they could expect no good office, as being a known enemy to their religion. For the nobility would most certainly take it as an high affront upon them, to see her so visibly more countenance a stranger than them, her native subjects. I told her Majesty very freely the advice I had given to Rizzio. She answered me, that he meddled no further than in her French writings and affairs, as her other French secretaries had done formerly, and that whoever found fault therewith, she would not be so far restrained but that she might dispense her favours to such as she pleased.

"I then remembered her Majesty what displeasure had been procured to her, by the rash misbehaviour of a French gentleman named Chattellier, who, transported to miscarry himself, by

her affability, had thereby highly injured her Majesty. I told her Majesty, that a grave and comely behaviour towards strangers, not admitting them to too much familiarity, would bring them to a more circumspect and reverend carriage. I told her how necessary it was that she particularly noticed all her actions—seeing those of her subjects, who were not of her religion, were easily alarmed with any thing which could be therein misrepresented. That if their hearts were once lost, there would be great difficulty in regaining that place in their affection, which yet they found her due, as their Sovereign Princess.

"She thanked me for my continual care, evinced in this free advice, and engaged to take such order in reference thereto as the case required."

It may here be observed, that few confidential attendants on a monarch would have had the courage to speak with such firmness, sincerity, affection, and propriety, on so critical and dangerous an occasion (risking as he did his Queen's displeasure), as Sir James Melvin appears to have done. It remains on record a lasting testimony of the goodness of his heart, and the strength of his understanding. And there can be no doubt, but that when the dreadful catastrophe, which his judgement had anticipated, actually took place,

that he felt a greater degree of happiness and consolation when he reflected on this circumstance, and that he had done his duty by his Queen, as an honest, just, and true friend, counsellor, and subject, and discharged the feelings of his own conscience, by the correct and prudent advice he had given her, at the moment it became so necessary for her honour and safety—than he did, in all the favours and honours he had obtained by any other means, either from the flattering distinction paid to him by a variety of Sovereign Princes, and other great and eminent persons, or from the high offices which he himself had filled.

SUPERSTITION.

Several accounts and instances of this infatuation, selected from various Authors, of the most respectable authority.

INCANTATIONS—AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DEVIL.

"About this time many witches were taken in Lothian, who deposed concerning some design of the Earl of Bothwell's against his Majesty's per-

son. Which coming to the said Earl's ears, he entered in ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, desiring to be tried; alledging that the Devil, who was a liar from the beginning, ought not to be credited, nor yet the witches, his sworn servants. Especially a renowned midwife, named Amy Simpson, affirmed, that she, in company with nine other witches, being convened in the night beside Prestonpans, the Devil, their master, being present, standing in the midst of them, a body of wax, shapen and made by the same Amy Simpson, wrapped within a linen cloth, was first delivered to the Devil, who, after he had pronounced his verdict, delivered the same, the said picture to Amy Simpson, and she to her next neighbour, and so to every one round about, saying, 'This is King James the Sixth, ordered to be consumed at the instance of a nobleman, Francis Earl Bothwell.' Afterwards, again at their meeting by night, in the kirk of North Berwick, where the Devil, clad in a black gown, with a black hat upon his head, preached unto a great number of them out of the pulpit, having like light candles round about him.

"The effect of his language was to know what hurt they had done; how many they had gained to their opinion since the last meeting; what success the melting of the picture had, and such other vain things. And because an old silly ploughman, called Gray Keith, chanced to say 'That

nothing ailed the King yet, God be thanked,' the Devil gave him a great blow.

"Thus divers amongst them entered in reasonings, marvelling that all their devilry could do no harm to the King, as it had done to divers others. The Devil answered—'Il est un homme le Dieu. Certainly he is a man of God, and does no wrong wittingly, but he is inclined to all godliness, justice, and virtue; therefore God hath preserved him in the midst of many dangers.'

"Now, after the Devil had ended his admonitions, he came down out of the pulpit, and caused all the company to come and kiss his hand, which they said was cold, like ice; his body hard, like iron (as they thought who handled him); his face was terrible; his nose like the beak of an eagle; great burning eyes; his hands and feet were hoary, with claws upon his hands and toes like the Griffin, and he spake with a loud voice.

"The tricks and tragedies he played then amongst so many men and women in this country, will hardly get credit by posterity; the history whereof, with their whole depositions, was written by Mr. James Carmichael, minister of Haddington. Amongst other things, some of them did shew, that there was a Westland man, called Richard Graham, who had a familiar spirit; the which Richard they said could both do and tell many things, chiefly against the Earl of Bothwell. Whereupon the said Richard Graham was appre-

hended, and brought to Edinburgh; and being examined before his Majesty, I being present, he granted that he had a familiar spirit, which shewed him sundry things; but he denied that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. But when it was answered again, how that Amy Simpson had declared, that he caused the Earl of Bothwell's address to her, he granted that to be true, and that the Earl of Bothwell had knowledge of him by Effe Machalloun and Barbary Napier, Edinburgh women; whereupon he was sent for by the Earl Bothwell, who required his help to cause the King's Majesty, his master, to think well of him. And to this effect he gave the said Earl some drug or herb, willing him at some convenient time to touch thereunto his Majesty's face; which being done by the said Earl ineffectually, he dealt again with the said Richard to get his Majesty wrecked, as Richard alledged; who said he could not do such things himself, but that a notable midwife, who was a witch, called Amy Simpson, could bring any such purpose to pass. Thus far Richard Graham affirmed divers things before the Councel; nevertheless he was burnt, with Amy Simpson, and many other witches. This Richard alledged, that it was certain what was reported of the faries, and that spirits may take a form and be seen, though not felt."

Melvin's Memoir.

FAMILIAR SPIRITS.

"The Bishop of Valence was at this time at Paris. He was desirous to have some knowledge in the mathematics; and for that effect, he found out a great and wonderful scholar in divers high sciences, called Cavatius. This Cavatius took occasion frequently, in conferences, to tell him of two familiar spirits that were in Paris, waiting upon an old shepherd, who in his youth had served a priest, and who at his death left them to him.—The Bishop, upon the King's return from Germany, introduced the said Cavatius to the King, who, to verify what he had said, offered to lose his head in case he should not shew the two spirits to his Majesty, or to any he should send for that purpose, in the form of men, dogs, or cats. But the King would not see them; but caused the shepherd to be burnt, and imprisoned Cavatius for life." *Phillip de Commine.*

PREDICTION.

"The Bishop had another learned man to his master, called Taggot, who had been curious in sundry sciences, and knew by the art of Palmistry (as he said to me himself), that he should die be-

fore he attained to the age of twenty-eight years. —'Therefore,' said he, 'I know the true religion to be exercised at Geneva; there will I go, and end my life in God's service.' Whither accordingly he went, and died there, as I afterwards was informed, correspondent to the time he had previously said he should." *The same.*

"Before the Duke of Guise's coming home to France, the King of Spain was entered upon the frontiers of France with a great army of men;—whom to resist, the Constable (my master) was sent with sixteen thousand. The day before he took leave of the King at Rheims in Champaigne, riding to the hunting, there came a man in grave apparel, following him on foot, crying for an audience for God's sake. Whereupon the Constable staid, willing him to speak; who said—'The Lord says, seeing that thou wilt not know me, I shall likewise not know thee; thy glory shalt be laid in the dust.'

"This strange language put the Constable in such a rage, that he struck the poor man in the face with the horse rod which was in his hand, and threatened to cause him to be hanged. The man answered—'That he was willing to suffer what punishment he pleased, seeing he had performed his commission.' The Duke of Nevers perceiv-

ing the Constable much troubled, drew near, desiring to know the cause. The Constable told him, that such a knave had been preaching to him of God. Then the Duke did also threaten the poor man. But as they did ride forward, after the King, I staid behind, and asked the man what had moved him to use such strange language towards the Constable. He answered, 'That the spirit of God gave him no rest till he had discharged that commission, given him by God.'

From Melvin's Memoir.

"The Englishman and I, by the way, entered into great familiarity, so that he shewed me sundry secrets of the country and the Court. Among other things, he told me that King Henry the Eighth had, in his lifetime, been so envious, as to enquire at men, called diviners or necromancers, what should become of his son King Edward the Sixth, and of his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth? The answer was made unto him again, that Edward should die, having few days, and no succession, and that his two daughters should one succeed the other; that Mary, his eldest daughter, should marry a Spaniard, and that way bring in many strangers to England, which should occasion great strife and altercation. That Elizabeth should reign after her, who would marry either a

Scottishman or a Frenchman. Whereupon the King caused to give poison to both his daughters. But because this had not the effect desired, for they, finding themselves altered and grievously affected with vomitings, having suspected themselves poisoned, had taken remedies; which he finding, had caused to proclaim them both bastards. He further said, that the women about Queen Mary, who attended, attributing her miscarriage to this cause. To be revenged upon her father—the Englishman told me, that she had secretly caused in the night to take up her father's bones, and burn them. This the honest gentleman affirmed to be true, though not known to many. He was a man of great gravity, about fifty years of age, a gentleman of the Queen's chamber, and one well skilled in the mathematics, necromancy, astronomy, and was also a good geographer," &c. &c.

Instances of remarkable personal Bravery, in desperate hostile engagements.

SCOTCH OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH SERVICE, AGAINST SPAIN AND GERMANY—A. D. 1554.

"At which time Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, won great reputation; for with thirty

Scotish men he rode up the hill, upon a fair gray gelding. He had above his coat of black velvet, his coat of armour, with two broad white crosses, the one before, the other behind, with sleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and seen afar off, by the Constable, the Duke of Anguien, and the Prince of Conde.

"Where, with his thirty, he charged with sixty of their horsemen with culverins, followed with but seven of his number, he, in our sight, struck five of them from their horses, with his spear, before it broke. Then he drew his sword, and ran in among them, not valuing their continual shouting, to the admiration of all beholders. He slew divers of them, and at length, when he saw a company of spearmen coming down against him, he gave his horse the spurs, who carried him to the Constable, and there fell down dead, for he had many shots. And worthy Norman too, was also shot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after.

"He was first carried to the king's own tent, where the Duke of Anguien and Prince of Conde told his majesty, that Hector, of Troy, was not more valiant than the said Norman Lesly, whom the king would see dressed by his own chirurgions, and made great moan for him. So did the Constable, and all the rest of the princes. But no man made more lamentation than the Laird of Grange, who came to the camp the next day after

from a quiet road, whither he had been commanded."

"The castle of Dinan, situated upon a high rock, was stoutly defended by a Spanish captain, who at length coming forth to speak to the Constable about composition, was retained, and the men of war came forth with their bag and baggage. Few, or none of the soldiers, who came forth of Dinan, but were hurt, either with shelves, or staves, by the force of our battery, or were burnt with the firebrands that they did roll down the steep hill, whereupon the wall was built, and thrice they repulsed our French footmen. Then it was, that eleven banner bearers whereof went up to the breach; to wit, first, one with the ensign in his hand, not followed with his company, was killed, and fell tumbling down the hill. Then another soldier, to win the office, took up the ensign, and went up likewise to the head of the wall, who was also killed. Then the third, and all the eleven, one after another lost their lives, not at all assisted by their companies, notwithstanding that the Constable stood by, urging and threatening in vain; for which he degraded their captains, and broke their companies. But there was a Scotchman, brother to Barnbougle, called Archibald Moubray, who, with his drawn sword, ran

up to the head of the wall, and returned with life. But he got no reward for his brave enterprize, though I used all my endeavours for him. Thus many are readier to punish faults, than to reward good deeds."

In continuation from the same Author, Melvin.

"In the mean time the Marshal St. Andre, a great man for that time, gave unhappy advice, that all the French servants who were on horseback, should retire from amongst the men at arms, lest they should be an impediment to them who were to fight, there being as many servants as there were masters. These servants were glad to get them out of the press, spurring their horses on with good speed homewards, intending to stay upon some hill to behold the combat. The enemy perceiving so great a number of horsemen (as they thought) flying, upon the very instant took occasion to charge upon our lighthorsemen. Whereupon the Constable, being in a valley between two hills, marching towards the strait part where he intended to stay, spurred forward up the little hill, that he might see how to resist and put order to the battle; which gave an hard apprehension to others, that he was flying. But when he turned at the top of the hill, no man would tarry with him

for any command, though he continually cried, return! return! their heads however were homewards, and their hearts also, as appeared. Then his Master of the Horse, bringing him a Turkey speedy horse, to run away with the rest, he answered in great anger, 'That it was against his profession and occupation, ever to fly from his station;' and addressing himself fearlessly against the greatest troop of enemies, saying, 'Let all true servants to the king follow me.' Though only threescore gentlemen accompanied him, who were all overthrown in an instant. The Constable desired to be killed, but the Master of the Horse cried continually, 'It is the Constable, kill him not,' but before he was known he was shot through the thigh, and then taken prisoner," &c. &c. &c.

SUPERSTITION.

The storms which obstructed the embassy from Scotland to Denmark, to conclude the marriage of that Princess with James of Scotland, thus accounted for—

"But the tempestuous winds drove them upon the coast of Norway, where they landed and staid a long time for fair winds and weather; which storm of wind was alledged to be raised by the

witches of Denmark, as by sundry of them was acknowledged, when they were for that cause burnt. That which moved them thereto was (as they said) a blow which the Admiral of Denmark gave to one of the Bailiffs of Copenhagen, whose wife, consulting with her associates in that art, raised the storm, to be revenged upon the said Admiral."

An account of an interview, and most interesting conversation, which took place between Queen Elizabeth and Sir James Melvin, ambassador from Scotland, on the subject of the Queen of Scotland's marriage, and various other matters, illustrative of the manners and disposition of the politic Elizabeth; though, at the same time, giving evident demonstration of the personal vanity, which so forcibly marked her character.

"Thus the old friendship being renewed, her majesty enquired, if the Queen, (my mistress) agreed to the proposition of marriage made to her. I answered as I had been instructed, 'that my mistress thought little, or nothing thereof, but expected the meeting of some Commissioners upon the borders, with my Lord of Murray, and the Secre-

tary Lidington, to confer and treat on all such matters of great importance, as should be judged to concern the quiet of both the countries, and the satisfaction of both their Majesty's minds. For seeing your Majesty cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting betwixt yourselves, so much desired, which in itself is not so expedient, until all other jealousies are first removed, and all former doubts cleared by your most trusty and familiar counsellors. The Queen, my mistress, (as I have said) is minded to send for her part, my Lord of Murray, and the Secretary Lidington; and expects that your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford, and my Lord Robert Dudley.'

"The Queen answered, it appeared that I made but small account of my Lord Robert Dudley, seeing I named the Earl of Bedford before him; but said, that e'er long, she would make him a far greater Earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home. For, that she esteemed him as her brother, and her best friend, whom she would herself have married, had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she willed that the Queen, her sister, might marry him, as meetest of all other, with whom she could find in her heart to declare her second person. For, being matched with him, it would but remove out of her mind all fears and suspicions, to be offended by any usurpations before her death. Being assured that he

was so loving and trusty, that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during her time; and that the Queen, my mistress, might have the higher esteem for him, I was required to stay till I should see him made Earl of Leicester, and Baron of Denbigh; which was done at Westminster, with great solemnity, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial; he sitting upon his knees before her, with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French Ambassador and I standing by.

"Then she turned, asking at me, 'How I liked him?' I answered, 'that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy, who had a Princess who could discern and reward good service.' 'Yet,' said she, 'you like better of yonder long lad,' pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who, as nearest Prince of the Blood, did bear the sword of honour that day before her. My answer was, 'that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man; for he was handsome, beardless, and ladyfaced.' And I had no will that she should think that I liked him, or had any eye or dealing that way. Albeit, I had a secret charge to deal with my Lady Lenox, to endeavour to procure liberty for him to go to Scotland. Now, I found the Queen of England was determined to treat with my sovereign; first, concerning her marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and for that effect she

promised to send Commissioners unto the borders. In the mean time I was favourably and familiarly used; for, during nine days that I remained at the Court, it pleased her Majesty to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice in a day, in the morning, after dinner, and after supper. Sometimes she would say, that seeing she could not meet with the Queen, her good sister, to confer with her familiarly, that she resolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might shew it again unto the Queen. She told me, she was not so much offended at the Queen's angry letter, as that she seemed so far to disdain the marriage of my Lord of Leicester, which she had caused Mr. Randolph to propose to her.

"I answered, that it was probable that he had let fall something thereof to my Lord Murray and Lidington; but that he had never proposed the matter directly to herself, and that as well as her Majesty, as those who were her most familiar Counsellors, could conjecture nothing thereupon, but delays and driving off time, concerning declaring of her to be the second person. She replied, that the trial and declaration thereof would be hastened forward, according to the Queen's good behaviour, and applying herself to follow her pleasure and advice in her marriage. And seeing the matter concerning the said declaration was so weighty, and of so much import, she had ordered some of the best lawyers in England, diligently to

search out who had the best right; and she heartily wished it might be found to be her dear sister, rather than any other.

"I said I was confident her Majesty was ingenuous in that declaration, and that my mistress expected no other at her hands; but I lamented that even the wisest Princes, did not sufficiently pry into the designs of their familiar Councellors and servants, except it were such an honourable and rare Prince as Henry the Eighth, her Majesty's father, of happy memory; who, of his own head, was determined to declare his sister's son, King James the Fifth, heir apparent to the Crown of England; failing heirs of his own body, while her Majesty was not yet born, but only her sister, Queen Mary, and that for the earnest desire he had to unite this whole island. She said, she was glad he did it not; I said, that then he had but one daughter, and expected no more children; and yet he had not so many suspicions in his head as your Majesty hath, though you are certainly convinced you will never have any children, seeing your Majesty declares yourself resolved to die a virgin.

"'Yes,' says she, 'I am resolved never to marry, if I be not thereto necessitated by the Queen, my sister's harsh behaviour towards me.'

"'I know the truth of that, Madam,' says I, 'you need not tell it to me. Your Majesty thinks, if you were married, you would be but Queen of

England; and now she was both King and Queen, I know your spirit cannot endure a commander.' She appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen, her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her; and because their (by her) so much desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she appeared, with great delight, to look upon her Majesty's picture. She took me to her bed-chamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures, wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers.

"Upon the first which she took up, was written, 'My Lord's picture.' I held the candle, and pressed to see that picture so named. She appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture. I desired 'that I might have it to carry home to my Queen,' which she refused me, alledging, that she had but one picture of his. I said, 'your Majesty hath here the original;' for I perceived him at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with Secretary Cecil.

"Then she took out the Queen's picture, and kissed it; and I adventured to kiss her hand, for the great love therein evinced to my mistress. She shewed me also a fair ruby, as great as a tennis ball. I desired that she would either send that, or my Lord Leicester's picture, as a token

unto my Queen. She said, if the Queen would follow her counsel, that she should, in process of time, possess all that she had. That in the mean time she was resolved in a token, to send her with me, a fair diamond.

"It was at this time late after supper, she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight of the clock, at which time she used to walk in her garden. She enquired several things of me relating to Scotland, and other countries wherein I had travelled. She caused me to dine with her Dame of Honour, my Lady Strafford, (an honourable and godly lady, who had been at Geneva, banished during the reign of Queen Mary) that I might always be near her, that she might confer with me. I had formerly been acquainted with my Lady Strafford as she passed through France. I had good intelligence from her and my Lady Throckmorton, at divers meetings we had divers purposes. The Queen, my mistress, had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of the Queen's natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen.

"The Queen said, that she had cloaths of every sort, which every day afterwards, so long as I was

there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best? I answered, in my judgment the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well; for she delighted to shew her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my Queen's hair or hers were best, and which of them two was the fairest.

"I answered, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare, which of them I judged fairest. I said, she was the fairest Queen in England, and mine the fairest Queen in Scotland; yet she appeared earnest. I answered, they were both the fairest ladies in their countries—that her Majesty was whiter, but that my Queen was very lovely. She enquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, my Queen. Then, says she—she is too high—for I myself am neither too high nor too low.

"Then she asked me what kind of exercises she used. I answered, that when I received my dispatch, the Queen had lately come from the Highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories; that sometimes she recreated herself

by playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked me if she played well. I answered, reasonably well for a Queen.

"That same day, after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music, (but he said he durst not avow it) where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered into the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alledging, she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there. I answered, that as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as I passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in, e'er I knew how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed, declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I

refused, but she compelled me to take it; she then called for my Lady Strafford out of the next chamber, for the Queen was alone. She enquired whether my Queen or she played best; in that I found myself obliged to give her the praise. She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well. I told her Majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch, which was not good; and would know then what kind of books I most delighted in—whether theology, history, or love matters. I said I liked well of all the sorts; and here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch.

"She said I was weary of her company sooner than she was of mine. I told her Majesty, that though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress, her affairs called me home; yet I was stayed two days longer, that I might see her dance, as I was afterwards informed, which being over, she enquired of me whether she or my Queen danced the best. I answered, the Queen danced not so high, nor disposedly as she did. Then again she wished that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland, by post, clothed like a page; that, under this disguise, she might see the Queen, as James the Fifth had gone in disguise to France, with his own Ambassador,

to see the Duke of Vendome's sister, who should have been his wife. Telling her that her chamber might be kept, in her absence, as though she were sick; that none need be privy thereto, except my Lady Strafford, and one of the Grooms of her Chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language—only answered it with a sigh, saying, 'Alas! if I might do thus.' She used all the means she could to oblige me to persuade the Queen, of the great love she did bear unto her, and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming, to entertain a stricter friendship than formerly, &c. &c.

"The day appointed I received my dispatch from Secretary Cecil. When I took my leave, Secretary Cecil conveyed me through the close, to the outward gate of the Palace, where he himself put a fair chain about my neck. My Lady Lenox sent tokens also unto the Queen, a ring with a fair diamond; she sent an emerald to my Lord, her husband (who was yet in Scotland); a diamond to my Lord of Murray; a watch, set with diamonds and rubies, to Secretary Liddington; a ring, with a ruby, to my brother Sir Robert," &c. &c.

The memoir of Sir James Melvin was written for and addressed to his son, giving him (by this

means) a full account of the particular circumstances of his life, in whatever situation he had been engaged—without (it is probable) ever expecting those occurrences would become public. The events, therefore, which are recorded in it, are expressed in the fullest ease and confidence, and (without doubt) with the strictest veracity.

This work cannot fail to amuse, though it is perhaps too prolix to be frequently perused. The part which has been introduced into this work, gives a very excellent opportunity to judge of the private and unceremonious conversations of the politic Queen Elizabeth, the affability and ease of her manners, and with how much care and art she endeavoured to gain the admiration and approbation of those whom she judged it necessary to please. At the same time, the reader cannot fail to be struck by the polite caution with which the wary Ambassador was always guarded—nor to admire the elegance and gallantry of his behaviour in the numerous answers he was compelled to return to the Queen's difficult questions; which though so well calculated to please her, yet still prove his partiality to his own lovely Queen—his firm attachment and true attention to her interest, her happiness, and her honour. And that no motive, or allurement, could draw him from the duty which he owed to his native Sovereign, the ill-fated Mary Stuart.

A curious account of a ship built in the reign of James the Fourth of Scotland, in the year 1511—which conveys a very striking degree of comparison to be made between the navy equipment of those days and of these, when a vessel of the size here described excited so much admiration and astonishment. Extracted from Lindsey's History.

"In the same year the King of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the 'Great Michael,' which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France. For this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, by all timber which was gotten out of Norway. For she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth, (all the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day e'er she was compleat.) To wit, she was twelve score foot of length, and thirty-six foot within the sides. She was ten foot thick in the wall, outter jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every side, so stark, and so thick, that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea.

"From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails compleat, with tows and anchors effairing thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expence, by her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, by all the rest of her orders; to wit, she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind in her dook, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery; that is to say, myand and battert falcon, and quarter falcon, slings, pestelent serpetens, and double dogs, with haytor and culverin, cross bows, and hand bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her, and had a thousand men of war, by her captains, skippers, and quartermasters, also six score of gunners to use her artillery.

"When this great ship passed to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay her, if she was weight, but I heard say it deared her not, and did her little skaith. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardén, and there, afore the same, he will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright who helped to make her. As for the properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quartermaster of her, and Robert Bartyne, who was master shipper."

A Digression, concerning the Miseries of Mankind, especially Princes—by the example of those who reigned in the Author's time, and first of King Lewis the Eleventh. A. D. 1483. *De Commines.*

"Small hopes and comfort ought poor and inferior people to place in the riches and honours of this world, considering what our King (Lewis) suffered and underwent to obtain them, and was at last forced to leave them all, and could not with all his care and diligence protract his life one single hour. I knew him, and was entertained in his service in the flower of his age, and the height of his prosperity, yet I never knew him free from labour and care. Of all diversions he loved hunting and hawking the best (in their seasons), but his chief delight was in dogs. As for ladies, he never cared for them, in my time, for about the time of my coming to Court he lost a son, called Joachim, who was born in 1459; for whose death he was extreemly afflicted, and made a vow, in my presence, never to be concerned with any other woman but the Queen; and though this was no more than what he was obliged to, by the canons of our church, yet it was much, that his command of himself would be so great, that he should be able to continue his resolution so firmly, consider-

ing the Queen (though an excellent Princess in all other respects) was not a person in whom a man could take any great delight.

"In hunting his eagerness and pain were equal to his pleasure, for his chace was the stag, which he always ran down; he rose very early in the morning, rode sometimes a great way to his dogs, and would not leave his sport, let the weather be never so bad; and when he came home at night was always very weary, and generally in a violent passion with some of his courtiers or huntsmen; for hunting is a sport not always to be managed according to the master's direction. Yet, in the opinion of most people, he understood it as well as any man of his time. He was continually in his sports lying up and down in the country villages, as his recreation led him, till he was interrupted by the war, which, for the most part of the summer, was constantly between him and Charles Duke of Burgundy, and at winter they made a truce. He was likewise involved in some trouble about the county of Roussilon, &c. &c. So that he had but little time for pleasure during the course of the whole year; and even then the fatigues he underwent were troublesome to him. When his body was at rest his mind was at work, for he had affairs in several parts at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his neighbours as his own, putting officers upon all the great families, endeavouring to divide their

authority as much as possible. When he was at war, he laboured for peace, or a cessation of hostilities, indefatigably; and when he had obtained them, he was again as impatient for war. He troubled himself with many trifles in his government, which he might better have let alone; but it was his temper, and he could not help it: besides, he had a prodigious memory; he forgot nothing, but knew every body as well in other countries as his own.

"And certainly he seemed born for universal monarchy, rather than to govern a single kingdom. I speak not of his minority, for then I was not with him. But when he was eleven years old, he was, by advice of some of the nobility, and others of his kingdom, embroiled into a war with his father, Charles the Seventh, which lasted not long, but was called La Praguese. When he was arrived at man's estate, he was married, much against his inclination, to the King of Scotland's daughter. (Her name was Margaret, her father James the First; she had a loathsome complexion, and a very bad breath, which were the two reasons why Lewis never loved her.) For he never had the least tenderness or affection for her during the whole course of her life, &c. &c.

"In which season of his life then was it that he may have been said to have enjoyed himself? I believe, from his infancy to his death, his whole life was nothing but one continued scene of

troubles and fatigues ; and I am of opinion, that if all the days of his life were computed, in which his pleasures outweighed his pain, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant, &c. &c.

" What ease, what pleasure, did Charles Duke of Burgundy enjoy more that our master King Lewis? In his youth indeed he had but little trouble, for he did not begin to enter into any action till the two and twentieth year of his age. But from the time Duke Charles undertook his war for the town in Picarday, and joined himself with the Lords of the kingdom, in the war called the Public God, what pleasure, what tranquillity, had he? He had continual trouble and labour, without the least cessation or refreshment, either to his mind or body ; for glory having got the entire possession of his heart, it spured him on to attempt new conquests, and invade the dominions of those Princes that bordered upon his. He was always in the field during summer, exposing his person to the greatest danger, taking the care and command of the whole army upon himself, and yet he thought it too little. He was ever the first that rose, and the last that went to bed in the camp ; and took as much pains as the poorest foot soldier in the army. In winter, when the campaign was over, his mind was as busily employed about raising money ; six hours every morning he set apart for conferences, and giving audience

to ambassadors; and in this perpetual hurry of affairs he ended his days, and was killed at Nancy. So that it cannot be said that he enjoyed one happy day, from the time of his setting up for conquests to the hour of his death. And then what were the fruits of all his pains and labour? Or, what necessity was there of it? Since he had towns and territories enough already to have made him happy, if he could have been contented.

"The next whom we shall have occasion to mention, is Edward the Fourth, King of England, a great and powerful Prince. In his minority he saw his father, the Duke of York, defeated and slain in battle; and with him, the father of the Earl of Warwick; who governed the king in his youth, and managed all his affairs, and, to say the truth, it was the Earl of Warwick who made King Edward, and dethroned his old master King Henry the Sixth, who had reigned many years in that kingdom, and, in my judgement, and in the judgement of the world, was their lawful king.

"The reason of the Earl of Warwick's espousing the interest of the House of York against King Henry, who was of the Lancastrian family, was upon a difference which happened at Court, betwixt the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, the King not having wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that height, and the Queen interposing in it, inclined to the Duke's party against the Earl of Warwick. The Queen

had acted much more prudently, in endeavouring to adjust the difference between them, than to have said—'I am of this party, and will maintain it.' And it proved so by the event, for it occasioned many battles in England, and a war which continued nine and twenty years, and, in the end, all the partizans on both sides were destroyed, &c.

"This King Edward was a very young Prince, and one of the most beautiful of the age. As soon as he had overcome all his difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to pleasures, and took no delight in any thing but ladies, dancing, and entertainments, with such like effeminate diversions; and, in this voluptuous course of life, if I mistake not, he passed about sixteen years,—till the quarrel happened between him and the Earl of Warwick, in which contest, though the King was driven out of his kingdom, yet his misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly returned, fought his adversary, defeated, and killed him, and re-assuming the Government, fell again to his pleasures, and indulged himself in them in a more violent manner than before. From this time he feared nobody, and living a luxurious life he grew very fat, and his excess inclined him to diseases in the very flower of his age; he died suddenly (as was reported*) of apoplexy, and the family

* There were various opinions concerning this Prince's death: some attributing it to poison, others to grief, but the generality to a surfeit, which is most probable.

lost the kingdom as to the succession in the male line, &c. &c.

"In our time also, there reigned two wise and valiant Princes, Mathias, King of Hungary, and Mahomet Ottaman, Emperor of the Turks. This Mathias was the son of a valiant young gentleman, called 'the White Knight of Walachia,' a person of great honour and conduct, who for a long time had governed the kingdom of Hungary, and had fought several battles with the Turks. Not long after his death, Lancelot, or Ladislaus, came to man's estate, who was heir to that kingdom, and to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland besides. This Lancelot was advised by some persons to seize upon the two sons of the White Knight, pretending, that their father having usurped and exercised so much power in that kingdom (during his infancy), it was not improbable his sons might do the same. Upon which the said Lancelot resolved to have them both apprehended, and his orders were accordingly obeyed. He put the eldest to death, and sent the other, which was Mathias, a prisoner to Buda, the chief town in Hungary; but he did not remain long under that confinement, for, a while after, this Lancelot (or Ladislaus) was poisoned at Prague, by a Bohemian lady of quality, (whose brother I have seen). He had been in love with her, and she with him; but being incensed at his marriage in France with Magdalen, daughter of King

Charles the Seventh (called now the Princess of Vienne), which was contrary with his engagements with her, she poisoned him in a bath, as he was eating an apple, by conveying the poison into the haft of the knife.

"Upon the death of Lancelot, the Barons of Hungary assembled at Buda, for the election of a King, according to ancient priviledge. Whilst they were mightily divided, and in great controversy about the election, the widow of the White Knight, and mother of Mathias, entered the town in a very splendid equipage, for she was very rich, especially in ready money, which her husband had left her, by the power of which she was able to raise men immediately; and, besides, it is not improbable that she had a party in the town, and among the electors, upon account of the authority and services of her husband. As soon as she came into the city, she marched directly to the prison and released her son: upon which they chose this Mathias for their King, who reigned among them in great prosperity, with as much applause and esteem as any of his predecessors, and in some things more. He was a man of as much courage as any of that age, and obtained many signal victories over the Turks, without any loss to his own kingdom, &c. &c.

"In the latter end of his days, finding he was become formidable, he began to affect grandeur, and a splendid way of living, and provided a world

of rich hangings, jewels, and plate, for the ornament of his palace, &c. He had also an inclination to make himself terrible to his own subjects, and turned a very tyrant towards the latter end. After which he fell into a grievous and incurable distemper, as it were in his youth, for he was but eight and twenty years of age, and died in Vienne, the chief city of Austria, 1491—his life having been one continued scene of sorrow and labour, without any considerable pleasure or ease.

"The Great Turk, whom I mentioned before, was a wise and valiant Prince; but he made more use of his cunning than courage, &c. This great Prince, at the age of twenty-three, took Constantinople, or the city of Constantine. I have seen his picture drawn at that age, which represented him vigorous and sprightly. It was a great shame and reflexion upon all Christendom, to suffer that city to be lost. And as his conquests were great over the Christians, so were they no less considerable over those of his own religion; for he continued to perform wonderful exploits, and so many, that I heard a Venetian Ambassador say, in presence of Charles Duke of Burgundy, that this Mahomet had conquered two empires, four kingdoms, and four hundred cities, with abundance of other successes too tedious to mention here.

"The greatest part of his affairs were transacted by himself, according to the practice of our King, and Mathias of Hungary, who were, with-

out all dispute, the wisest Princes who had reigned for an hundred years before. But the generosity of our master's conversation, and his liberality to his servants, as well foreign as others, distinguish him very much above the rest, and made him more venerable than either of the other two, and it is no wonder, for he was styled 'the most Christian King.'

"As to worldly pleasures and enjoyments, this Turk had his share, and spent most of his time in them. And it is well he did; for otherwise he would have done more mischief to Christendom, had he not been so employed. He indulged his genius in all kinds of sensuality, and was strongly given to gluttony, which brought on him an ill habit of body, and occasioned a numberless train of diseases, which continued upon him as long as he lived. Every spring he had a swelling in one of his legs, that made it as big as a man's middle, (as I have heard from those who have seen it), which never broke, but dispersed of its own accord, and no surgeon could tell what to make of it, but all agreed his intemperance was the occasion of it, though perhaps it was a judgement from Heaven. And one reason why he suffered himself to be seen so seldom, and shut himself up in his chariot when he went abroad, was, lest he should discover this infirmity and grow contemptable to the people. He died about the fifty-second

year of his age, and suddenly; yet he made a will, which I have seen, in which he seemed (if it was true) to have some remorse for a tax which he had lately laid upon his subjects, &c.

The Author's conclusion and moral.

"Thus have you seen the death of several illustrious persons, in a short time, who have borne so much sorrow, and endured so many fatigues, only to extend their dominion, and advance their fame and glory, beyond that of their neighbouring monarchs; perhaps not only to the shortening of their lives, but to the endangering the welfare of their immortal souls. I am not speaking here of the Turk, for I question not but that he is gone to his predecessors; but of our King and the rest, of whom I hope God will have mercy. But to speak freely (as one that is no great scholar, but yet has had some experience in the world), would it not have been better for them, and for all other great Princes and subjects whatever, to be less ambitious in their desires: that is, not to be solicitous and careful about temporal things, and have such vast and unreasonable designs in view. But to be more cautious of provoking God, oppressing their subjects, and invading their neighbours, by so many cruel and unchristian ways, as I have said before, and rather employ their time

in tranquillity and innocent diversion. Thus their lives would be longer, their infirmities the later, their deaths less desirable to other people, and less terrible to themselves. Can we desire any clearer examples to prove how poor and inconsiderable a creature man is? How short and miserable his life, and how little difference there is betwixt princes and private persons; since, as soon as they are dead, whether rich or poor, their bodies are abominable; all people fly and shun them, and their souls are no sooner separated but they repair to receive their doom, which is given by God, at that very instant of time, according to every man's works; and this is called the particular judgement."

Extracts from Walsingham.

A remarkable occurrence which took place in the reign of Edward the Second, concerning the great Thomas Duke of Lancaster, and his wife; also, a sketch of the calamitous state of this kingdom in those days, suffering under the severe afflictions of pestilence and famine, and the dreadful

distresses experienced in consequence.—A. D. 1316.

"The King was now in so great dislike and distrust with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appear at Clarendon, where the King held a Councel. To augment this fatal aversion, a certain Knight, belonging to John Earl Warren, stole away from Caneford, in Dorsetshire, the wife of Thomas Earl of Lancaster (the chief of the Lord's faction), not without the King's consent (as it was said), and he brought her to the said Earl Warren's Castle at Rigate, with great pomp, and in despight of the Earl; whom one Richard de St. Morrice, a wretched lame, deformed, and hunch-backed dwarfe, challenged for his wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted to her, by consummated marriage; which she (the greatest and noblest inheritrix of her time) did openly confess, to her immortal shame and infamy; incurring, alas! the public note of a most filthy strumpet. This deformed elfe (having mighty seconds) durst, hereupon, claim the Earldoms of Lincolne and Salisbury, as in her right; and, in the mean time, the name and honour of Thomas, the great Earl of Lancaster, was bafled, as it were, by a light and wicked woman."

"Mean while the state of the kingdom was most miserable, there being no love betwixt the King and the Peers, nor any great care in him, or them, of the common affairs; nevertheless, they assembled at a Parliament, in London, where no great matter was concluded, for the famine and pestilence encreased. The famine was grown so terrible, that horses, dogs, yea, even men and children were stolen for food, and (which is horrible to think) the thieves newly brought into the gaols, were torn in pieces, and eaten presently, half alive, by such as had been longer there.

"In London it was proclaimed, that no corn should be converted to brewer's uses; which act the King (moved with compassion towards his nation) imitating, caused to be executed throughout all the kingdom; otherwise the greater part of the people had died with penury of bread. The dysentery, caused through raw and corrupt humours, engendered by evil meat, and unnatural diet, raged every where, and together with other dreadful maladies, brought such multitudes of the poorer sort to their end, that the living could scarcely bury the dead." *Walsingham.*

From Speed—introducing the Opinions of the various Authors he had read, respecting the manner of the Death of Richard the Second, and his own moral reflection on that disgraceful deed. A. D. 1400.

"The designs of King Richard's friends in his favour, and their misfortunes being made known to him, could not but work strongly in a soul oppressed with grief, but whether so strongly as to make him resolve, by voluntary abstinence, to starve himself, (as the fame went) may be doubted; though it be past doubt, that King Henry was not sorry he was dead howsoever. That he was starved, seems very plain; though, as it is not certain, neither yet unlikely, that King Henry was privy to so foul a parricide, so neither is it known, but that Richard might as well be starved of purpose, as starve himself. Master Stow, a man for honest industry, very praiseworthy, saith, that King Richard was fifteen days and nights together, kept in hunger, thirst, and cold, till he died. How true that was in the circumstance, who knows? But in the point of starving, he is clearly with Walsingham; and a Knight, living about those times, calleth it a death, never before that time known in England. Harding also, living

under King Edward the Fourth, agrees of the rumour of starving. Master Cambden, saith of Pomfret Castle, that it is a place, 'Principum cœde, and sanguine infamis,' but seems to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practiced upon this king, as made out of the way with hunger, cold, and unheard of torments. Polydor, therefore, may in this be believed, who writes of this poor deposed monarch, that which may well be called unheard of torments; his diet being served in, and set before him, in the wonted princely manner, but he was not suffered either to touch or taste thereof. Idle therefore seems his dream, who writes he was murdered in the Tower; and not more credible theirs, who tell us of Sir Piers of Exton's assault, and the murder by him so basely acted upon this most miserable Prince's person; but much more are they to blame, who negligently, for credit of the fable, quote Walsingham, in whom, no syllable of such a thing is found. Only Hector Boetius, wills us to believe, that Richard fled disguised into Scotland, was discovered to King Robert, and honourably entertained; but Richard, who would no more of this world, gave himself wholly up to contemplation, and both lived, died, and was buried at Stirling; which fond fable hath nevertheless somewhat in it, for that some personated Richard might so do, is neither impossible nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

"The late King Richard, thus cruelly and

heinously murdered, (for in regard to pining to death, the seeming fable of his fight with Sir Piers of Exton, was a sport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage, to die with weapon in hand.) King Henry caused his dead body to be brought up to London. O! Henry, if thou was author, or but privy (though for thine own pretended safety, and for that errors cause, which is lewdly miscalled reasons of state) of such a murder, we do not see how the shewing of the people his uncovered face, in St. Paul's, did either conceal, or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know that there was no hope or place for a Richard, that course was used, which may the rather confirm the truth of his enfamishment: for a violent death by braining, could not but deform him too much; and it is most probable such a death would be sought, as might least appear.

" Surely there is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarism as Richard's enfamishment, feels not a chilling horror and detestation, what if but for a justly condemned galley slave so dying; but how for an anointed King, whose character, like that of holy orders, is indelable? The tragical spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it moved too much both pity and envy) was, after a while, transported without honour, to Langley, in Hertfordshire, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of Chester and the

Abbots of St. Albans and Waltham; but neither King Henry present, (as at the exequies in London) and the great Lords and such other as were, had not so much as a funeral feast bestowed on them for their labour. But Henry the Fifth, in the first year of his reign, with great honour, did afterwards cause those royal remains to be interred in the sepulture of his ancestors, in Westminster. Amongst the rhyming Latin verses of his Epitaph, ye may marvel to read these in Fabian's English of them, considering upon what points he was tried out of majesty and state.

"The Church he favour'd, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his Royal State confound."

"The said author, therefore, Robert Fabian, observing the scope of those lines, to damp their force, doth underwrite and annex this stanza, with much greater discretion than elegancy.

"But yet, alas! though that this mètre or rime,
Doth thus embellish this noble Prince's fame;
And that some Clerk, which favour'd his sometime,
List by his cunning, thus to enhance his name,
Yet, by his story appeareth in him some blame;
Wherefore to Princes is surest memory,
Their lives to exercise in virtuous constancy."

"The beautiful picture of a king sighing, crowned in a chair of estate, at the upper end of

the quire in St. Peter's, in Westminster, is said to be of him, which witnesseth how goodly and noble a creature he was in outward linaments."

Witches. From Melvin's Memoir.

"In the mean time the storms were also so great here, that a passage boat perished betwixt Burntisland and Leith, wherein was a gentlewoman, named Jean Kennedy, who had been long in England with the Queen Mary, his Majesty's mother; and was since married to Sir Andrew Melvin, of Garvock, my brother, Master of his Majesty's Household: which gentlewoman, being discreet and grave, was sent for by his Majesty to be about the person of the Queen, his royal bride. This lady, being desired to make diligence, would not, by the storm, be stopped the sailing of the ferry; when the vehemence of the storm drove a ship forcibly upon the said boat, and drowned the gentlewoman, and all the persons in it, except two. In this boat I also lost two servants. This storm, the Scottish witches confessed themselves, to his Majesty in person, was procured by them, by their art."

Prodigies, Signs, Prophecies, &c. &c. from the time of the Government of the Roman Emperors in Britain, to the conclusion of the Extracts.]

Licinius Gallienus, Emp. A. D. 261. *Speed.*

"The calamities of this Emperor's time were so many, as almost to exceed credit; and signs shewed both in the Heavens and the Earth, manifested his wrath, that sat upon the Throne of Jaspar; from whose presence issued thunderings, lightnings, and voices. For, by writers of best credit, the sun was clouded, as under sackcloth, and not seen for many days together; earthquakes great and fearfully resounding, overthrew cities and other edifices, shaking the ground so terribly, that vast caves and hideous bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and thereout (no less strangely) flowed great streams of salt water. The earth roared and seemed to murmur, when there was no voice heard in the air. The sea overswelled her banks, and brake into many continents, drowning countries, cities, and people. Besides all these, so violent a pestilence raged, that in Rome no less than five thousand persons died in a day."

Prodigies, and Death of the Emperor Flavius.
A. D. 364. *Sabellicus.*

"At the Emperor's first departure from Persia, he visited the city of Tarsus, where he caused the sepulchre of Julian (though otherwise he had found him averse both in affection and religion; yet for that, he was his preceding Emperor) to be richly adorned; and taking Antioch in his way, for many days together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for ominous signs. For the statue of Maximianus Cæsar, standing at the entrance of the King's Palace, let fall the ball, or globe, out of his hand, no force moving it thereto. Horrible sounds and noises were heard within the Consistory, and blazing stars appeared at noon day.

"Hence, therefore, he marched in great haste, and at Ancyra declared his son (a very infant) his Cæsar; whose wailings and unwillingness to ride in the Imperial Chariot, portended what afterwards happened. For hasting still towards Constantinople, he came to Dadastana, a place that divideth Bythania and Galetia asunder, and there died suddenly, of the obstructions and stopping of the lungs, caused by the damp of a new mortared chamber wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coals there set to dry the new ceiling, whose va-

pours having no vent, or issue, stifled him to death, the 17th of February, the year of the world's redemption, 364—aged 33 years."

Of Prodigies, in the Reign of the Emperor Valentinianus.

" Strange and dreadful were the signs that in the third year of this Emperor chanced, as earthquakes, inundations, and the like, whereof Marcellinus thus reporteth: A little after the sun rising (saith he), the mighty and steady mass of the whole earthly globe shook; flashes of lightning, very thick and fierce, going before; the sea also driven aside, and the waves and billows so preposteriously tumbling and retiring back, that the deep gulphs, being discovered and laid empty, a man might have seen sundry sorts of swimming creatures sticking in the mud; also the vast vallies and rocks, which nature had set far away under the huge waters, did now behold the beams of the sun, insomuch that many ships were bedded fast in the dry ground, and flocks of people were straggled at their pleasure, in the small remains of water, to take up fishes, as the sea spoil; when,

on the sudden, the waves disdaining to be thus dispossessed, returned with such violent beating upon the islands and promontaries, which lay far into the sea, as that they overflowed and laid level an infinite number of buildings and cities; and therefore, in this furious discord of the elements, the surface of the world being covered, represented strange and wonderful sights. Among which, St. Jerome reporteth, that it rained wool from Heaven, so perfect and good, that no better ever grew on a sheep, the natural producer of it, &c.

"But the death of the Emperor presently following these events, admits no mention or farther discourse, whose death happened in this manner. The Quadi, after many molestations done to the Roman legions, and their confederates, sent their Ambassadors unto the Emperor, desiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an abolishment of all remembrance thereof: with whom, being in earnest conference, suddenly the blood gushed out of his mouth, and, being laid upon a bed, shortly after died of an apoplexy, or rather of the plague, as the blue marks which appeared upon his body gave conjecture. He died November the seventh, of his age fifty-five years, and the birth of Christ 375."

Of Prodigies which happened in the Reign of Brithric, the second King of the West Saxons. From Roger Hoveden. A. D. 784.

(An amusing and interesting detail.)

"Brithric, lineally descended from Cherdik, the first king of the West Saxons, was a man of a soft and quiet disposition; he married Ethelburga, the daughter of great Offa, the Mercian King, by whose power he expelled Egbert, that ruled a lordship in his province under him, whose fame encreasing, through his feats in war, drove many jealousies into King Brithric's head; and the more, by the instigation of Ethelburga, his queen, who, bearing herself great because of her parentage, practised the downfall and destruction of them whom she hated, and, by her suggestions, this Egbert was banished on suspicion of conspiracy.

"It afterwards chanced, that she, preparing poison to make an end of one of the king's minions, wrought thereby (though unwittingly) the king's death; for he, by tasting the confection, ended his life. Wherein she, fearing the just revenge of his subjects, fled into France; and by Charles, then king, was so courteously entertained, as that for her great and passing beauty there

was offered her the choice of him or his son. But she, in her youthful humour and desire, choosing the son, she was debared from both, and thrust into a monastry in the habit, though not the affection, of a nun. Where, not long after, she abused her body, by committing adultery, and was shortly expelled, and in beggarly misery ended her life; as by many that so saw her it was reported, as we have heard, (saith Asserius mine author)—For this her most heinous crime, whereby was wrought the death of her husband. For which cause, the West Saxons ordained a law, to the great prejudice of all their Queen's succeeding, that none should have either title, majesty, or place of royalty, which was severely executed for many years afterwards.

"In the days of this Brithric, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be believed. For it is reported, that, in his third year, a shower of blood rained from Heaven, and bloody crosses fell upon men's garments as they walked abroad. And, in his tenth year, were seen fiery dragons flying in the air. Which wonders some took to be presages of the miseries which followed, both by the invasion of the Pagan Danes that in these times were first seen to arrive in this island, and also of the extreem famine that afterwards happened."

A Prophecy—which was supposed by the Historian here quoted to have been the principal cause of the Death of that great Prince George, Duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward the Fourth. Speed.

"I am not ignorant that some have alledged the cause of this nobleman's death to arise from a foolish prophecy, whereof (saith Comine) the Englishmen are never unfurnished, and this, as the Cabalists who used to make an art of their letters, gave forth, forsooth, that a G should reign after an E, which must needs be George of Clarence, though Glocester, more crafty, lay in wind for the game. This, indeed, troubled the King not a little, but the Queen and her blood much more, and therefore, of both King and Queen, Duke George was mistrusted, and greatly maligned in all that he did.

"The Duke being now a widower (for Warwick's daughter was dead), sent unto his sister Margaret, Dutchess of Burgundy, to work a marriage for him with her husband's daughter, the Lady Maria. Against which the Queen most earnestly interposed herself; and solicited the lady in behalf of Lord Anthony, Earl Rivers, her brother, whereby great discontent was ministered to

the Duke, and new jealousies daily bred in the King's breast. But howsoever Clarence had offended, certain it is that he was found guilty by the foresaid Parliament, and the eleventh of March following, after he had offered his mass penny in the Tower of London, he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey; whose body was buried at Tewkesbury, in Glocestershire, by the body of his Dutchess, Lady Isabel, Countess of Warwick, who, being near her confinement, died by poison a little before.

"Yet although the King had consented to his brother's death; yet no sooner was it done but that he repented, and wished it again undone, and was so grieved at the remembrance, as, when any made suit for the life of a condemned, he would openly say—'Oh! unfortunate brother, for whose life no man made suit.'

"This good Duke (for so he was called) left issue behind him, Edward, Earl of Warwick, and Margaret, afterwards Countess of Salisbury; both of them infants, and followers of their father's bad fortune: he a continual prisoner; at four and twenty years of age, under Henry the Seventh, he was beheaded upon Tower Hill; and she, at sixty-two, lost her's within the Tower, in the time of Henry the Eight."

Of the Inhuman Sacrifices of the Danes.—Cambden Brit.

"The manner of their religion, or rather superstition and idolatry, was much like unto the other Germans and Saxons, whose principal God, and national reputed patron, was Thur, unto whom the fourth day of the week for his service was assigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name Thursday. Who, in his robes, was set upon a sumptuous bed, the canopy whereof was bespangled with stars of gold; unto him they performed their devotions, and ascribed all their fortunes in their affairs unto his order and protection.

"They sacrificed unto Thur, whom they worshipped in old time as their Lord; for whom they killed not many sheep, oxen, or other cattle, but offered unto him man's blood, thinking that to be the most precious oblation of all others; whom when the priest, by casting of lots, had destinated to death, they were all at once deadly smitten upon the head with ox-yokes, and every one thus chosen by lot, having at one stroke his brains dashed out, was laid along on the ground, and there, with a narrow prying, was sought out the fibre, or vein of the heart, on the left side, whence

drawing the blood, as their custom was, and therewith besmearing the heads of their dearest friends; forthwith they hoist sails, thinking their gods well pleased with such sacrifices, and fore deeming happy success to their intended enterprizes.

"Ditmarus, the Bishop (a most ancient author), recordeth another detestable superstition used by the Danes, to purchase the favour of their gods.—'Because (saith he) I have heard wonderful reports of the ancient sacrifices which the Danes and Normans used, I will not now let them pass untouched. In those parts there is a place, and the chief it is of that kingdom called Lederum, in a province named Selon, where every ninth year, in the month of January, after the time in which we celebrate the nativity of our Lord, they all assemble together, and there they kill, and sacrifice unto their gods, ninety and nine men, and as many horses, with dogs, and also cocks, instead of hawks; assuring themselves, that thereby their gods are fully pleased and pacified. And thus much may serve for a taste and view of their customs, names, and originals."

The Troubles and Death of Humfrey the Good, Duke of Gloucester, A. D. 1447. *From Stow's Annals.*

" Humfrey, the renowned Duke of Glocester, Lord Protector of England, felt the first stroke of the evil Angel, which was sent to punish England, and to root out her nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queen (Margaret, wife to Henry the Sixth) and her faction, as the only man who, by his prudence, as also by the honour and authority of his place, seemed to impeach that sovereign command, which they pretended to settle in the King's own person, but meant indeed (as the manner is oft under soft Princes) to reign themselves in another name. Many great Lords were drawn on, at the time of a Parliament then holden at St. Edmond's Bury, to concur for his ruin; not perceiving that thereby they plucked up the floodgate at which the Duke of York entered, overwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true and just fear of the Duke of Glocester himself, lest perhaps he should take revenge upon any particular person among them, is doubtful, though it be probable enough that he had. Hear some things which fore-went this Parliament. About five or six years before, Eleanor, Duchess of Glocester, was condemned

for witchcraft and sorcery; and afterwards indicted of treason, in the Guild Hall of London, before the Earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, and certain Lords, Fanhope and Hungerford, with others, and Judges of both Benches; of which crimes she was appealed, by one Bolingbroke, an astronomer, and Thomas Southwell, a chanon; which Southwell, was charged to have said masses over certain instruments, by which the astronomer should practice necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as being accessary, she having desired the help of their arts, to know what would befall her.

"Some part hereof she confessed, for which she was put to public and solemn penance, in London, upon three several days, with wonderful shame to her person; and after, she was committed to perpetual prison, under the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley, in the castle of Chester; but from thence removed to Kenilworth. Her pride, falsehood, avarice, and wickedness, were causes of her confusion, (saith Stow, though not seeming to attribute much credit to the accusation.)

"The Duke of Glocester, her unhappy Lord and husband, (whom she, by love cups and enchantments, was said to have inveigled, using therein, one Margery Gardmain, a witch of Ey, in Suffolk, who was burnt in Smithfield) stung with this reproach, might reasonably be thought

not unwilling to do somewhat. Howsoever that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke, therefore, being come to attend in this Parliament at Barie, was arrested of High Treason, by John, Lord Beaumont, High Constable of England, the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, with others. Certain of the King's Household were appointed to guard him. Not long after, he was found dead. His body was shewn to the Lords and Commons, as though he had died of a palsey, or apoplexy. Of thirty and two of his servants who were attached, Sir Hugh Chamberlaine, Knight, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, and Arthur Marsey, Esquires, and Richard Beedham, Gent. were condemned of High Treason, and had this unexampled punishment. They were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, hanged, let down quick, stripped naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter of pardon shewed for their lives, by the Marquis of Suffolk. But the Yeomen of the Crown had their livelihood, the Executioner, their clothes.

"Their pardons were thus obtained, by the earnest diligence of Doctor Gilbert Worthington, a famous preacher, Parson of St. Andrew's, Holborn, &c. &c.

"Such was the end of this great man and noble Prince; who, notwithstanding this open shewing of his body, and these pretended crimes, was, by

the people of England, thought to be doubly murdered—by detraction, and deadly practice. He was not only a true lover of learned men, but a learned man himself, and an affectionate father of his country."

Anecdotes of the famous champion, John Courcy, Earl of Ulster, in the reign of King John. Extracted from Annals Hibernia.

"For this seemeth to be the time when Phillip (King of France) sent a braving champion to justify by duel, before the states here in England, what his master had done in France against their King in open war; and though it was not deemed expedient to jeopard a title of such weight on the arms and fortune of one man, yet it was resolved the challenger should not pass unanswered;—whereto none was held fitter than John Courcy, Earl of Ulster, (who, for rebellion and denying his homage to his king, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower), a man of giant like limb and strength, and of some dispositions not despicable, if they had not been savaged with a too careless rudeness; which appeared, not only in his own wild speeches, touching the King's mis-

usage of his nephew Anthur (which some by error alledge as cause of his indurant durance), but even now, when the King demanding him,—'Whether he would combat in his quarrel?' 'No, (quoth he) not in thy quarrel, nor for thy sake—but for the kingdom's right I will fight to the death.'

"Against which day, whilst he, repaired with large diet, his impaired limbs and sinews, the Frenchman, hearing of his excessive feeding and strength answerable thereto, thereby fearing that he had been some monster of nature, rather than a man, he secretly sneaked away into Spain, ashamed to shew his face in France again.

"Courcy, finding the King gracious, was hereupon released, and is said (if this be not to digress) to have crossed the seas for Ireland fifteen times, and evermore beaten back again to the shore; acknowledged himself therein justly punished of God, never again to see his own seat, for displacing God out of his, when he converted the Church of Prependaries in Doun, consecrated to the Blessed Trinity, into an Abbey of Monks, to the honour and name of St. Patrick, whose image was erected in a stately seat, wherein before the Trinity was deportracted, which was thence rejected into a private chapel.

"The Irish relate, that the two Kings being afterwards together (belike when they made the next truce in France), King Phillip hearing Cour-

cy to be in the English camp, intreated to see some experiment of his strength, which was so much feared and so strangely reported; whereon a helmit of excellent proof, full forced with mail, being set upon a great wooden block, the Earl, lifting his trusty skeyne, first louring about him with a dreadful aspect, cleft so deep through the steely resistance into the knotty wood, that none could draw it out but himself, who did it with ease. And being asked by the Kings, 'Why he frowned so irefully before the stroke?' He told them, that he then intended, if he had failed of his blow, to have killed them all, both Kings, and others, the lookers on."

Treachery of the Regent (the Earl Morton).

Interesting particulars of the state of Scotland during the time of the captivity of Mary, and the minority of her son James; with the narrative of the fate of the noble and amiable Laird of Grange, with the description given of his virtues, his person, his brave and gallant conduct, and the unfor-

tunate and deplored termination of his troubles and his life.

From Melvin's Memoirs.

"About this time my Lord Regent* sent a letter to me, with all diligence to come to him. At my coming, he made a heavy moan for the civil troubles which were kindled in the country, by the craft and malice of some in England, and some in Scotland, taking the colour of this or that authority, and yet were only moved with their own particularities, to the hurt of both King, Queen, and country; desiring me that I would go unto the Castle of Edinburgh, and shew them, as of my own head, and not as from him, that I understood he perceived—albeit too late, how that we were led upon the ice, and that it was the interest of all true Scotchmen to agree that the state may be settled. And, says he, you may desire them to seek to treat with me thereabouts: which, you may assure them, they will obtain, if they seek the same. And offer yourself to be the instrument to bring on a good agreement between them and me, which shall, by God's grace, take good effect upon your return with their reasonable offers and answer.

"Whereupon I went to Edinburgh, and found

* Earl of Mar.

them all inclined to peace and quietness, with little need of persuasion thereto; for they were near a point before with my Lord of Lennox, and some former conferences had been betwixt my brother and Captain Coningham thereabouts.

"At my return to the Regent, he was very glad, saying, he knew these honest gentlemen were ever willing to cease from discord and civil commotion, seeing the Queen was captive, to whom their owning her authority could do no good, but evil; but that they had been by crafty practices, cast against their will, upon a contrary course. Then he enquired, upon what conditions the captain and his friends would agree? I said, "that the Laird of Grange would not sell his duty to his Prince and country for any advantage, but would serve his King and his country to settle the estate, so long as the Queen was detained in England; and if God pleased to grant her liberty, they doubted not but she and her son would agree betwixt themselves; to which all honest and good subjects would consent. They, for their parts, desired no man's lands, nor goods, but only liberty, peaceable to enjoy their own livings. Only Grange desired, that the Regent would cause to pay certain debts, contracted for repairing the castle and artillery; which condition the Regent promised to fulfil, and to be an assured friend to Grange, and those in the castle.' And without any other ceremony, he called the Laird of Tul-

libardine, and after he declared unto him how far we had proceeded, he put his hand into mine, and did swear the peace, in presence of the said Tullibardine, who had also been a good instrument in the said agreement, together with Mr. Clement Little, afterwards Provost of Edinburgh. No man was privy thereto, but my Lady Mar and Captain James Coningham.

"After this the Regent went to Edinburgh to convene the Lords of Council, to shew them the calamities that the civil wars produced, and to let them see how necessary an agreement would be to the whole country. In the mean time, until the appointed council day, he went to Dalkeith, where he was nobly treated by the Earl of Morton; shortly after which, he took a vehement sickness, which caused him to ride suddenly to Stirling, where he died, regretted by many. Some of his friends, and the vulgar, suspected he had gotten wrong at his banquet.

"The Earl of Morton, after the decease of the Earl of Mar, was made Regent, England helping it with all their might. So soon as he was chosen, he sent for me, declaring how that against his mind and inclinations, the Lords had burdened him with that troublesome office; whereof, seeing he behoved to accept, he could wish that he might stand the country and Commonwealth in some stead. First, he would desire the help of all good and honest men, to draw on peace and concord to

the quietness of the State; praying me, as one for whom he had ever entertained special favour, to travel with my friends of the castle for that effect, and to persuade them to go forward with him, as they were minded to do with the Earl of Mar; assuring me that none of the former Regents, at any time, had been more willing than he was, presently to put an end to the civil troubles, nor that I should remember less the partialities past, and that the Regent should not revenge the Earl of Morton's quarrels. But, whoever would serve the King, and be his friend, he would embrace them, upon what faction soever they had formerly been. And that he was willing to give whatever conditions the Earl of Mar had offered; that I should have the Priory of Pittenweem for my pains; the Laird of Grange, the Bishopric of St. Andrew's and Castle of Blackness; and every one within the castle should be restored to their lands and possession as before.

"It was very hard to bring on this agreement with the Earl of Morton, for the evil opinion which was conceived of him, and the hurtful marks they supposed by proof and appearances, that he would shoot at, being by nature covetous, and too great with England, and ever jealous that the King would be his ruin; concerning which, a lady who was his mistress, had shewn him the answers of the Oracles. Yet the Laird of Grange, who was ever willing to see concord in his country, was

easily persuaded; the Lord Hume and Lidington made some resistance at first, but were also at length content. So that after I had passed twice or thrice between them, they appeared to be agreed in their hearts; and the Laird of Grange said, he would cause all the rest of the Queen's faction to agree with the Regent; but he refused to take the Bishopric of St. Andrew's, and Castle of Blackness, desiring nothing but his own lands.

"When I returned to the Regent with this answer, conform to his desire, he was marvelously glad; but when I declared, that the Laird of Grange would be a good instrument to cause all the rest of the Queen's faction to agree also with him; he answered, that was not meet. And when I reasoned against him, and shewed him how I had spoken in his name, that he was resolved to have agreed all Scotland, and that Grange had no quarrel of his own, but to help a number of noblemen who required his protection during the King's minority, and had requested the Regent once to agree with them altogether, for Grange's honour; and afterwards he, and all these of the castle, should band with him, and lay aside all other bands. The Regent answered and said, 'James, I will be plain with you; it is not my interest to agree with them all, for then their faction will be as strong as ever it was, thereby they may, some day, circumvent me if they please; therefore, it is my game to divide them. And more-

over, there have been great troubles in this country this while by gone, and during them great wrongs and extortions committed, for the which, some fashion of punishment must be made; and I would rather the crimes should be laid upon the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntly, and their adherents, than upon your friends; and by their wreck I shall get more profit, than by that of those in the castle, that have neither so great lands to escheat to us, as the reward of our labours. Therefore shew Grange and your friends, that either they must agree without the Hamiltons and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, or the said Lords will agree without him and these of the castle.' To this I answered, 'that I understood him, his speeches being very plain.' With this I went again to the castle, and rehearsed our whole reasonings. Grange said, it was neither godly or just dealing, to lay the blame upon those who were richest, for their lands and goods, and not upon them who were guiltiest; seeing these noblemen had been ever willing to agree, after that the Queen was kept in England, but could not be admitted: And yet, if they would now abandon him, and agree without him, and those in his company, he had deserved better at their hands; yet, he had rather that they should leave and deceive him, than that he should do it unto them.

"When I had given this return to Morton, and he perceived that Grange stood firm upon his ho-

nesty and reputation, he appeared to like him the better, and seemed as if he had been resolved to go forward with those of the castle. At my desire, he sent up Carmichel, to hear out of their own mouths, so far as I had spoken in their name. They of the Castle likewise sent Pittarrow to the Regent, to hear out of his own mouth, so far about the agreement, as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatever might come afterwards.

" The Regent asked at what time the Castle of Edinburgh should be delivered to him? I said, 'within half a year.' 'What security,' said he, 'shall I have for it?' I said, 'I should be a pledge, if he would accept me for it.' Then he enquired, why I sought so long a delay? I answered, in the first place, till all articles and promises might be performed, and likewise, because though the Laird of Grange was ever esteemed an honest man, yet by wrong reports and practices, the ministers have been stirred up to cry out and preach against him; therefore, to enable him to serve for the future, it would be some satisfaction to his mind, to let the world see, that as well after the agreement, as before, he should be esteemed alike honest and worthy to keep the house; and then, at the time appointed, the Regent should be entreated to receive the Castle out of his hands. He appeared to be very well content with this manner of dealing, and gave me great thanks for

the travel I had made, desiring me to go home, and he in the mean time would convene the rest of the noblemen of his side, and acquaint them with his proceedings, and take their advice and consent to this good work, which he doubted not to procure; and therefore, he said, he would send for me again, and put the form of the agreement in writing.

"But he immediately took another course, and sent a fit man to the Hamiltons, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and their dependants, and offered an accommodation to them, if they would be satisfied to make an agreement by themselves, not including Grange, and those in the Castle; which condition they accepted of, without making therein any ceremonies, whereby they by their letters instantly from Perth, advertised the Laird of Grange; lamenting, that the straits they were reduced to, had compelled them to accept that agreement, which the Regent had offered them; praying him not to take it in evil part, seeing they had no house, or strength to retire themselves to. They gave him many thanks for the help and assistance he had made them, which they said they should never forget, so long as God should lend them their lives.

"This was the recompence this good gentleman obtained, for the great help he had given these Lords, the hazard he had run upon their account, and the charges he had been at in aiding

them, with his generous and honourable refusal to accept those terms for himself, excluding them, not imagining the Regent would be so malicious, as to cast him, and not accept of his friendship, which he incontinently offered, after the rest were agreed. But from that time forth, the Regent would hear none of his offers, persuading the rest of his faction, that these of the Castle were too proud and wilful, that they refused to serve the King, or to acknowledge him Regent. And this was published and preached, and yet the very reverse and contrary was the truth, for they would gladly have taken any reasonable appointment. What rage was in the Regent's mind, for greediness of their lands and goods, or what should have induced him to bring an army from England to besiege the Castle of Edinburgh, I know not, it being to the dishonour of his Prince and his country, seeing a little before, the Castle was offered to the Earl of Rothes, to be instantly delivered into his hands, to be kept to the Regent's behoof, which was refused. So that apparently he had some other fetch in his head, than a man, esteemed so wise, should have had, seeing he might have obtained his intent, without the help of England, having all Scotland at his devotion, saving that few number within the Castle, who would likewise have agreed, upon any reasonable condition.

"Thus, the Castle of Edinburgh was straitly

besieged with an English army, under the conduct of the Marshal of Berwick, assisted by all Scotland. These within, seeing they could not be received upon any composition, debated so long as they had victuals and water; but their draw well being dried up by a droughty summer, they had no other water but what they fetched, letting men with cords down over the walls and rocks of the Castle, to a well on the West side, which was afterwards poisoned, whereby so many as escaped the shot, died, and the rest fell deadly sick. Yet the Laird of Grange undertook, with eight persons, to keep the Castle untaken by force; of the which number were, the Lord Hume, my two brothers, Sir Robert and Sir Andrew, the Laird of Pittarrow, and his brother Patrick. This resolution being taken, the Laird of Cleish, and Matthew Colvil, his brother, were sent to the Castle, under pretence of making offers of agreement, but their design was to get intelligence of the state of the House, and to seduce the soldiers who were yet alive, which they did; so that some fled out over the walls, and others were shut forth. For the Captain thought the House in a better condition, both for victuals and otherwise, when they were forth.

"The Marshall of Berwick, seeing no appearance to succeed, entered into contention with the Ambassador, alledging that the Queen, his mistress, would be dishonoured, and said he would

wait no longer; whereupon they without entered upon a new communing, and sent up again the Laird of Cleish, to offer them good conditions to come forth, with their armour, and bag and baggage, which was agreed to, and that they should be restored to their lands; and beause for the time these were in other men's possession, it was referred to themselves whether they should go to England with the Marshall of Berwick, or remain in Scotland among their friends, until the promise made them of restoring them to their lands might be fulfilled. The Englishmen desired that the Castle should be put in their hands; but Grange sent secretly to Captain Hume, and Captain Crawford, desiring them to come and lye within the bulwark, betwixt the house and the Englishmen; and to those he delivered up the Castle, and his person to the Marshall, to go with him to England, until all promises might be kept to him, and the rest, by the Queen of England's means.

"In this manner they came forth, after that George Douglas, natural brother to the Regent, had received the house; they had all their swords and weapons about them, and were three days at liberty. My brother, Sir Robert, staid with me at his own lodgings; the Laird of Grange, and the Secretary Lidington, remained yet with the Marshall of Berwick at his lodgings, for their greater security, because the people of the town of Edinburgh were greatly their enemies, &c. &c.

But, at the end of three days, they were all laid hands upon, and taken as prisoners. For some of their malicious enemies put it easily in the Regent's head, and the Ambassador's, that it was well done to move the Queen of England to cause to deliver the whole prisoners to the Regent, to be disposed upon at his pleasure, alledging they had no surety, but a naked promise, which they needed not to keep; and because those of the Castle confided wholly on the Marshall's promise, the Ambassador was advised to prevent the Marshall's writing; so that, e'er he did write to the Queen thereabout, her letter came to him to deliver up the prisoners, who had been in the Castle, to the Regent. And he durst not disobey her commands, the same being so peremptory, though he obeyed it with much reluctancy, by reason of his promise, and returned malcontent to Berwick; and they in the Castle were committed to strict ward. And thereafter new letters were purchased by the Regent from the Queen, that he might execute them, which she willingly permitted, for she would gladly have been quit of my Lord Hume and Grange, as being two true Scotchmen, unwonable to England, to do any thing prejudicial to their King or country; and of the Secretary Lidington, but he died at Leith, after the old Roman fashion, as was said, to prevent his coming to the shambles with the rest.

"As for the Lord Hume, the Regent durst not

middle with him, he standing in awe of Alexander Hume of Manderston, Coldinknows, and the good man of Northerwick, and the rest of that name, who boasted with very proud courage. He died very shortly after, being warded in the Castle of Edinburgh. Mr. Killingrew, the English Ambassador, desiring no other reward for his labours, but the preservation of my brother Sir Robert's life, for he was formerly obliged to him and me. The composition was kept to all the rest of the mean gentlemen. The Prior of Coldingham, and Laird of Drylaw, were afterwards set at liberty. Sundry of the Captains of Berwick went up to the Castle, by the breach beat down in the fore wall by the cannons, that they might say they had won the maiden Castle. But this was after that the house was delivered over to the Regent's brother; yet he would not suffer them to enter there with any number.

"On this manner both England and the Regent were revenged upon that worthy champion Grange, whom they had sometimes in great estimation, who had done such notable service in France, being Captain of an hundred light horsemen, that he was extolled by the Duke of Vendome, Prince of Condé, and Duke of Aumale, Governors and Colonels then in Picardy; that I heard Henry the Second point unto him, and say, 'Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age.' Also the King used him so familiarly, that

he chose him commonly upon his side in all past-times he went to; and because he shot far with a great shaft at the butts, the King would have him to shoot two arrows, one for his pleasure. The Great Constable of France would never speak to him uncovered, and that King gave him an honourable pension, whereof he never sought the payment. England had proof of his valour frequently against them upon the Borders, where he gave them divers ruffles. In a single combat he vanquished the Earl of Rivers's brother, between the two armies of England and Scotland. He afterwards debated manfully the liberty of his country against the Frenchmen, when they intended to erect the land into a province. He had lately refused the demands of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Killigrew, as is before mentioned, and had reproached both the said Ambassadors of false and deceitful dealings. Last of all, he had refused to put the Castle of Edinburgh into the hands of Englishmen; and therefore, because he was true to his Prince and country, it cost him his life. For they boasted plainly to bring down the giant's pride, who, as they alledged, presumed to be another Wallace. Albeit, contrariwise, he was humble, gentle, and meek, like a lamb in the house, but like a lion in the fields. He was a lusty, strong, and well proportioned personage, hardy, and of a most magnanimous courage, secret and prudent in all his enterprizes, so that

never one that he made or devised misgave, where he was himself present. When he was victorious, he was very merciful, and naturally liberal; an enemy to greadiness and ambition, and a friend to all men in adversity. He fell frequently in trouble in protecting innocent men from such as would oppress them, so that these his worthy qualifications were also partly causes and means of his wreck. For they promoted him in the opinion of many, that some loved him for his religion, uprightness, and manliness; others again depended upon him for his good fortune, and apparent promotion, whereby divers of them hoped to be advanced and rewarded, supposing that offices and honours could not fail to fall to him. All of which he wanted from his own default; for he had fled from avarice, and abhored ambition, and refused sundry great offices, even to be Regent, which were in his offer, as well as other great benefices and pensions. Thus, wanting place and subsistence to reward, he was soon abandoned by his greedy and ambitious dependants. For, when they saw him at a strait, they drew to others, whom they perceived to aim at more profitable marks. On the other hand, he was much envyed by those who were of a vile and unworthy nature, of whom many have made tragical ends, for their too great avarice and ambition, as shortly after did the Earl of Morton. But this gallant gentleman perished for being too little

ambitious and greedy, and for the noble virtues of his mind, which could not be contaminated or corrupted.

"But so soon as the King's Majesty came to perfect age, and had understood how matters had gone during his minority, he caused to restore the heirs of the said Laird of Grange, who he said was wrecked contrary to the appointment made with the Marshall of Berwick; and also ordered his bones to be taken up, and buried honourably, in the ancient burial place of his predecessors in Kinghorn.

"After his death, the Marshall of Berwick took so heavy a displeasure, finding himself so far affronted because of the breach of his promise, that he would tarry no longer in his office in Berwick, seeing he judged he had lost his reputation and credit, in that the appointment which he had made with the Castle of Edinburgh was not kept. For he was a plain man of war, and loved Grange so dearly, that, at his request, he spared to cast down the houses of Seaton and Nidrie, when he came to cast down the house of Hamilton. Likewise all the officers of Berwick deeply lamented the loss of so worthy a Captain."

An account of the Execution of Mr. George Wisheart, for Heresy, in the time of Mary of Scotland—likewise his Prophecies, his firmness under his sufferings, and the immediate fulfillment of one of his prophetic speeches.—From Lindsay's History of Scotland.

(The compiler has, in general, avoided introducing in this work the horrible accounts of religious persecutions, which but too frequently occur in history; yet one specimen was judged necessary, to give an example of the cruelty, injustice, and wickedness, with which such deeds were put in practice.)

"Where, notwithstanding his modest and withall pithy answers to the accusations in general, and his declaration that he was innocent of all that was laid to his charge, and that he should die guiltless thereof, the Cardinal and the Prelates incontinently condemned him of heresy, and adjudged him to be burnt. Thereafter, he being led back to the Castle till the fire should be prepared. Meantime, the Captain, and the gentlemen who were with him, being to dine, asked if Mr. George Wisheart would eat with them? He answered, 'With a good will, and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive you are

good men and godly, and that this shall be my last meat on earth; but I exhort you that you will give me audience with silence for a little time, while I bless this meat, which we will eat as brethren in Christ; and thereafter I will take my leave of you.' So the table being covered, and bread set thereon, Mr. George discoursed for half an hour on Christ's Last Supper, Death, and Passion, exhorting them to leave malice and envy, and to fix love and charity in their hearts, one towards another, as the members of Christ, &c. &c.

"Meantime the artillery of the Castle was charged and laid to the wall heads, and cushions and green cloths were spread thereon, for the Cardinal and Bishops to sit upon; and all the gentlemen commanded to stand about the scaffold in armour. During this time, Mr. George was discoursing to the Captain of sundry foretokens of things to come which he had seen. "For there appeared,' said he, 'in the North East, a great fire upon the sea, which, moving to and fro, at length came upon the city of St. Andrew's, which lighting upon the Castle brake asunder.—Which he thought did portend the wrath of God to seize shortly, not only on that wicked man who was Lord of that Castle, but also upon the city.' He saw also a great misty and smoky cloud arise in the South East, and move forward, till it came just above Dunpender-law, besides Haddington; the other part moved North-west, till it came above

the Kirk of Inverask, and there appeared like blood descending out of the firmament; which he said in his judgement protended, that there should be a Councel holden upon Dunpender-law, which should occasion much trouble to Scotland, and procure much bloodshed, especially to the town of Haddington a very great wreck.

"As he was discoursing these things, the officers and tormentors brought him forth to the fire, which was prepared without the castle gate, against the west block-house, where the Bishops might lie on the wall heads and see this sacrifice. He being then bound on the scaffold with iron chains, made his prayer to Almighty God, for his afflicted church, in danger to be devoured by ravening wolves. With this, having recommended his spirit to God, the tormentors applied the fire to the powder, which kindled most hideously, and withall, there came so vehement a blast of wind from the sea, and so great a cloud of rain brake from the sky, that the noise put all men in great fear. It was so forcible, that it blew down the stone walls, and them that sat thereon, to the number of two hundred persons, which fell about the draw-well in the Bishop's yard, and divers fell into it, whereof two were drowned immediately. The Captain exhorting Mr. George to remember of God, he answered stoutly, notwithstanding of the fire, and said moreover, 'Captain, God forgive that man, that thus persecutes God's servants;

within a few days he shall lie as shamefully on that same place as now he lies glorious." When he was now burnt all beneath the middle, they desired him to remember of God, and make a sign thereof—which he did, leaping up a foot high in the fire, to the great joy of all those who favoured God's word. But the clergy discharged all men, under the pain of cursing, to pray for him, as being a heretic. This martyrdom was committed the first of March, one thousand five hundred and fifty-six, whereof the clergy were highly puffed up with pride and insolence, which shortly after turned to mischief, &c. &c.

" The Cardinal, immediately after this, passed to Arbroath, where he married his daughter on the Master of Crawford, with great solemnity.—At his return to St. Andrew's, being informed that there was a navy prepared in England to destroy the coast of Scotland, especially of Fife; for providing remedy thereof, he sent for all the gentlemen and Barons of Fife, especially my Lords Rothes and Lindsay, the Lairds of Weymss, Lochleven, Lundle, Largo, Allerdes, and Ninians; charging them, against an appointed day, to be ready to side with him, and visit the coast, for providing fortifications for resistance of the English. But, in the mean time, Norman Lesly came to him for certain businesses; upon which, they fell into altercation of words, both uncharitable and unchristian. Norman Lesly departing to his

lodging, returned the sixth of May, in the morning, betwixt four and five hours, he, with his accomplices, came to the Castle gate, and gripping the porter in hands, seized upon the place. Peter Carmichel passed up to the East Block-house chamber, where the Cardinal lay, who, being let in, stabbed him immediately. The cry running through the city, his friends came rushing forward to ladder the walls, and rescue him, thinking that he was yet alive. They that were within, to assure them of the contrary, shewed his dead body to the people upon the wall, where, when it was lying, it was treated with the utmost contempt and indignity. At this sight, many remembered the prophecy of Mr. George Wisheart, which had foretold this disgraceful end long before."

Some particulars of an interview between the Kings of England and Scotland, in which is recorded instances of the inclination of King John to pardon offenders; likewise an account of the Funeral of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln; of King John's great humility on that memorable occasion; of the manner of Bishop's Funerals in those days;

of the Grant made by the King at that time; with many other interesting anecdotes.

From Polidor Virgil and Roger Hoveden, &c.
Reign of King John. A. D. 1199.

"Notwithstanding, upon the King's return to England, and Geoffrey to his more loyal carriage and submission, his peace was made at the very time, and for the more celebrity, of Queen Isabel's coronation, with whom the King himself was again crowned at Westminster, by Archbishop Hubert.

"The pomp of this solemnity ended, the King resolved of ending a long depending controversy with King William of Scotland, who formerly (before John was proclaimed King) had challenged as his patrimonial right the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and afterwards, seeing he got nothing but words and delays (King John being then in France), with a hotter and more forcible argument to win, what he could not crave: but being in dark devotion all night at St. Margaret's Hearse, that still true hearted English Queen* persuaded him, by a dream, not to infest Edgland, her native soil, who thereupon

* She was grandchild to King Edmund Ironside, and wife to King Malcolm of Scotland.

sent back his army. But now he cometh with a more friendly train, upon King John's sending to him, in honourable embassage, the Earls of Huntingdon and Hereford, King William's brother, and nephew, his three sons in law, Lacey, Vesey, and Ros, with others, to desire him to give him a meeting at Lincoln. Where accordingly they both met with kingly caresses; and the next day King John, to auspicate his temporal affairs with spiritual devotions (and yet to shew what he thought of some superstitious follies of those times), went undauntedly into the Cathedral Church of that city, being much persuaded by many (for monkish impostures persuaded many it was very ominous for a King to enter that and certain other places*), and there offered a golden challice on Saint John's altar, which no King before him ever durst do. Where his devotion performed, the two Kings (in presence of three Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, the King of South Wales, with a multitude of English, Scottish, French, and Irish Princes and Peers), ascending the top of that conspicuous and high hill†, on the north side of the city, did there, in a glorious solemnity, swear amity and faithful love upon the crosier of Archbishop Hubert.

"That spectacle, so royal to the beholders, was

* As St. Priswide's Church, in Oxford.

† Now called Bore-Hill.

seconded with another, no less honourable to King John (for humility in such great ones is more glorious then their glory), when the King having lately left Hugh Bishop of Lincoln (called the Saint, for the opinion of unfeigned integrity, though blemished with some obstinacies, and surcharged with legends of feigned miracles) at London, very sick, where himself, with gracious care, went to visit him, and both confirmed his testament, and promised the like for other Bishops after. Now hearing he was dead, and his corpse then bringing into the gates of Lincoln, he, with all that Princely train, went forth to meet it; the three Kings (though the Scottish was to depart that very day), with their royal allies, carrying the hearse on those shoulders accustomed to uphold the weight of whole kingdoms; from whom the great Peers received the same, and conveyed it to the Quire; and the next day (it there lying the mean time, open faced, mitred, and in all pontifical ornaments, with gloves on his hands, and a ring on his finger) interred it with all solemnities answerable. Yet here the King rested not to give proof in so great a height of his lowly mind, and then benign (however afterwards averted) to the clergy. When twelve Abbots of the Cisteaux habit (whose whole order had displeased him by refusing to give aid towards his great payment of thirty thousand pounds), came now to Lincoln, and all prostrate at his feet, craved his gracious

favour, for that his forresters had driven out (for so the King had given command) of his pastures and forests all their cattle, wherewith themselves and Christ's poor were sustained.

"The King, touched with remorse on seeing so venerable a troop of supplicants (though so great offenders), commanded them to rise; who were no sooner up, but the King, inspired by divine grace, fell flat on the ground before them, desiring pardon, adding, that he not only admitted them to his love, and their beasts to his pastures (a special favour which Kings had granted that order), but he would also build an abbey for men of their sort, if they would design some choice seat, wherein himself meant to be enshrined.

"Neither did he promise then more than he performed, nor were those wylie humiliates regardless of chusing a delicate plot for the purpose; where he built a goodly abbey of their order, deservedly for the pleasure of the place, named Beaulieu *, and of rich revenue and excessive priviledge, continuing long of great renown as a castle of refuge inviolable; our ancestors thinking it most heinous sacriledge thence to draw any, though wilful murderers or traitors: wherein the founders of such unsanctified sanctuaries and temples of mercy (so they called them) throughout this kingdom, seemed rather to take Romulus

* The beauteous place.

for their president than Moses, who, granting favour to casual manslaughters, yet commanded all wilful murderers to be drawn from the altar to the slaughter.

"But these Cisteaux dis-order was not alone, either in those shameful indignities or gainful atonements. The Benedictines*, in antiquity above them, in priviledges equal, scorned to be in courage behind them, for affronting their sovereign: who claiming the patronage of a benefice†, which the King his father formerly bestowed, they impugned his royal title, locked the church doors against his presentee (being the King's near friend), scorned his most princely loving letters of request, rejected his often and earnest messages, forced the church with armed men against the King's officers, assailed the King's Sheriff and his forces, and put them to flight by sword; moved the Pope to excommunicate all their appungers (which touched the *King near*), yea, caused him to be accused to the Pope as a tyrant. Yet, on their submission, he forgave them their offence, gave them that patronage, with sundry other great gifts and immunities, and so became their chief patron and protector, &c."

* An abbey in Hampshire, by the New Forest, valued at the Dissolution at £428 6s. 5d.

† Feversham

In continuation.—Further instances of the insolence of the haughty Prelates and Priests to King John.

"Certes, about this time the Archbishop of York shewed slender respect unto his Sovereign, when being prohibited by Fitz Peter, the King's great Justiciar and Minister (in the King's absence) of regal command, from holding a General Councel of his Province (never used to be held but by Sovereign permittance), his pleasure scorned to take any countermand, but from Fitz Peter especially, who, in calling, his inferior; by joint deserts towards the King, but his equal, was now, in nearness and fastness to the King, become far his superior. But what speak I of confronting a subordinate power; did he spare to beard his Sovereign himself? It seems no. For having notice, the Feast of the Nativity now approaching, that the King intended, with his Queen, at Guildford, to keep that festivity with great magnificence.—He whose palace ordinarily for splendour, multitude of attendants, and sumptuous entertainment, did strive with the King's (as one of his own successors avows), thought this a fitting time to shew both his great state and little regard of his Prince's discountenance, by paralleling his to the King's, his own sumptuous preparations, with rich attires and costly gifts for his attendants

at Canterbury. The King (as kings brook not to be braved by subjects, nor is it wisdom for disfavourites to do it), moved with great indignation, thought the man had too much riches, and too little discretion (which seldom lodgeth in the brain where pride dwells in the heart); and, therefore, to abate somewhat of the one, and learn him more of the other, having first been in the north parts to gather money for his better uses, he meant not to lavish it, in keeping his Easter, which he chose rather to do at the cost of Hubert the Rich; and not to spare him, who spared not himself, he there encreased that great expence with a greater, of his and his Queen's solemn crowning again, on Easter day, in the Cathedral Church, where, in lieu of his expence, Hubert had the formal honour to set on their crowns upon their heads, but yet not the grace to sit near the King's heart," &c.

(In continuation.)

"With which intercourses and other compliments, three days being spent, between King Philip of France, and King John of England, Philip, the deeper to screw himself into King John's good graces, by entreaty obtained his company, first to St. Dennis's Palace, where he entered with a pompous procession of Clergy, and lodged with Royal entertainment by the King, and the next day to Paris, where he was received

with very rich presents of the city, and great applause of all sorts, to see so noble arguments of affection, betwixt two such great princes, lately so mortal enemies: where the French King, betaking himself to a more private mansion, left his own Palace, to accommodate and honour England's King. After some days, there bestowed in princely delights and entertainments, King John conducted forth of the city, by King Philip, and parting with mutual attestations of love never to be parted, took his journey towards Normandy, in full hope to enjoy thenceforward the contentment of quiet to himself, and peace to his dominions; but those windy hopes soon changed, with his change of the air.

"For whilst at Chinon, he was royally entertaining Queen Benengaria, his sister, (whom he there also bounteously satisfied, in performing the jointure promised her by King Richard, giving her the City and Signiory of Baion, two Castles, and their Domains in Anjou, with a thousand marks yearly for the term of life,) and at Argenton, in Normandy, where he kept his Christmas, was solacing himself with his beauteous Queen Isabel. The Earl of March, Hugh, surnamed Le Brun, a Peer of great power and alliance, to whom Isabel was first promised, (though for her unripe years the marriage was never solemnized) inflamed with love of her, who was now thought worthy to be a Queen, drew on other Poictovine

nobles, to think that he was unworthy to be a King, who wrongfully had taken her from him, and would, if not prevented, do the like in time with them. So once again Young Arthur, whose former hopes were all cold, is rekindled by those firebrands, and set up by their malice to supplant his uncle; but by Heaven's decree, to overthrow himself. Howsoever the Brittains, then fascinated with his ominous name, dreamed that the ancient Great Arthur was risen again in him, and that the translation of the English kingdom was now by him to be effected. Neither was the French King, for all his late painted love, deaf to their suggestions, who laboured to encrease his hatred against John, whereunto he had these further inducements; that King John might quickly wax too potent a neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not quickly rebated; that now the means to work it were more than before, the English Peers being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed liberties; but chiefly that the profits (such base ends can some propose of so noble a band) which he hoped for by his Amitie being the enjoyment of those Signiorities in the Continent, (if he died without issue) was now in a manner cut off, the fair Queen Isabel beginning to give apparent hopes of much desired fruit from so fair a stem. Thus, whilst Earl Hugh, out of love—Duke Arthur, out of ambition—King Philip, out of avarice (ah! that the

noblest person should have the basest motive) the Peers from discontent, but all out of hatred, were contriving King John's ruin; he was farthest from suspicion when nearest his danger; and yet they, who thus were forwardest to undermine his greatness, were themselves standing the foremost to be crushed with his ruin," &c. &c.

The Detection of an Extraordinary Impostor, with the Punishment inflicted on him for his presumption and wickedness. Also, of two Females, who were confederates with him. From Matthew Paris—the Reign of Henry the Third, A. D. 1222.

"The state both of Church and Commonwealth, in those troubled days, seem to have much resemblance; every man daring to attempt what his own audaciousness would suggest, or others conveniency would permit. But Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, (who himself was lately the ringleader of disorders, both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his Provincial Synod, at Oxford, about the Reformation of the Clergy; where also was convented before him, an execrable impostor, who, seeing how current all

grossest delusions passed in those days of blindness, was emboldened to suffer himself to be wounded in his hands, feet, and side, (an horror to think on) that by the resemblance of these bloody impressions, he might persuade the people (apt to believe any thing) that he was their very Saviour.

"Whose deserved punishment was judged to be, immuring between two walls, as a monster too impious and unworthy to die by any human hand. There was immured likewise with him a cursed old beast, an old woman, who pretended to be Mary, the Mother of this Christ, and well might be, if their manners be compared; some add a third also, who called herself Mary Magdalen.

"The punishment by crucifixion, which some think was executed upon the man, at Arborberry, is neither so credible, nor so tolerable, as in which Christianity itself seemed to sustain reproach; it being also against the ancient law of Constantine, the first famous Christian Emperor, that any should from henceforth die by crucifixion; *but it* may be, that he was so first judged, (which might cause the relator's error) though afterwards, upon sounder deliberation, changed into a more fitting censure.

"But strange it is, and worthy of note, that this man, deserving (as he did) so severe a judgment at Oxford. St. Frances, whose fiction and imposture was the very same, (for the wounds—

though not for the name of Christ) so soon after deserved to be canonized for it, at Rome, for a Chief of Saints; and perhaps, if this monster had been at Rome, he had been likewise sainted. Or, if Saint Frances had been at Oxford, he had been likewise immured."

Death of Lord Darnley—presumption and wickedness of Lord Bothwell, and the disastrous and fatal consequences of it to Mary Queen of Scotland; with the preceding admonitory advice from Sir James Melvin to the Queen. And some account of the ceremony of the Baptism of the Prince James.

As the circumstances connected with the fate of the unfortunate Mary, are at the present day (in consequence of the popular Romances of several eminent writers) become almost as interesting as they were at the time they took place; and the arguments for and against her, still pursued with unabated ardour, must render every authentic recital worthy particular attention and investigation.

Sir James Melvin ever proved himself a truly loyal servant to his unfortunate Princess, and like-

wise a sincerely attached friend and adviser. His account of the death of Lord Darnley, and the subsequent consequences of it, may be fully relied on as correct, and as what he was firmly convinced of, from being upon the spot, at the time the tragical and disgraceful transaction took place. And regarding and commiserating the Queen with the zeal which he did, it may naturally be inferred, that his description is to be esteemed and depended on as the genuine truth. His own regular detail of that dreadful catastrophe, cannot *fail* therefore of being acceptable to those, who have not perused it in his own (now nearly obsolete) work. And the plain (though concise) record of facts, of which he was an eye-witness, will (it is imagined) prove more desirable, than those of more modern authors, who may probably be prejudiced for, or against, Mary, under the influence of the sentiments of those former writers, whose works have laid the foundation of the *histories*; their own more refined taste and industry have brought forward, for the present general *reading*.

It appears that the Queen (Mary) used always, when she was in any particular distress of mind, or depression of spirits, to consult with Sir James Melvin, and that he ever gave her the best and soundest advice, for her future conduct: it is in one of these conversations, that this account commences.

"About this time her Majesty (Mary) was ad-

vertized by my brother's letters, that the Earl of Bedford was upon his journey towards Scotland, with an honourable company, as also the Ambassadors of France and Savoy, for the baptism of the Prince; which moved her Majesty to pass to Stirling, with the Prince, for the solemnization thereof. But she was still sad and pensive, for the late foul act (the murder of Riccio) committed in her presence so irreverently, she being their born Queen, and thereby in hazard of losing the fruit of her womb. So many great sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her; and few there were to endeavour to comfort her.

"Sometimes she would declare part of her grief to me, which I essayed the best I could to assuage, by telling her, that I thought the greater multitude of friends which she had got in England, should cause her to forget in Scotland the lesser number of enemies, and unruly offenders, unworthy of her wrath; and that her excellent qualities in clemency, temperance, and fortitude, should not suffer her mind to be possessed, or suppressed by the remembrance of past offences; but that rather she should bear up her spirit, by a princely and womanly behaviour, whereby she might best gain the hearts of the whole people, both here and in England; humbly requesting her Majesty, first, to consult with her God—next with her honour—and thirdly, with her interest, in the establishment of her state, and in joining

the two kingdoms in a happy monarchy, which she knew to be so near effectuate in her person; seeing also the banished estate of the offenders so miserable, they not having a hole to hide their heads in, nor a penny wherewith to buy their dinner; that the most noble natures would think them sufficiently punished. That it was a comely thing for a woman to be pitiful, and to want vengeance. 'I leave, Madam,' says I, 'to your own judgment, whether presenting it more for your own honour, and advancement of your interest, to cease from any desire, or pursuit of any further revenge, whereupon may ensue more dangerous enterprizes; or to give place to necessity and reason, to rule over the beastly passions of the mind; for, as Princes are called divine persons, so no Prince can pretend to this title, but he who draws near the nature of God, by godliness and good government, being slow to vengeance, and ready to forgive. It is manifestly known, that wise Princes entertain no longer feud at their enemies, than they see it may be needful for the weal of their affairs and state; and they change their favour or hatred, according to time and occasions. Your Majesty may remember, that many things might have been better managed: I speak this with love and reverence. Your Majesty might have been as well obeyed, as ever was any king in Scotland, if you had taken such princely care as was requisite. You know how

that by your own Majesty's express commands, I did shew you long before, what inconveniences were like to fall out, upon the grudges I perceived before the slaughter of Riccio; and God is my witness, I did then all that lay in my power to have them eschewed and prevented; and since that time your Majesty hath repented that my advice was not followed. I pray God that the like repentance fall not out again too late. At my being in England, your adversaries were beginning to vaunt upon vain reports, that our westerly winds had blown East among them; so that my brother and I had enough to do, to beat it out of the heads of divers, who were devoutedly addicted to the advancement of your title.'

"This communing began at the entry of her supper in her ear, in French, when she was casting up great sighs, refusing to eat upon any persuasion, that my Lords of Murray, or Mar, could make to her. The supper being ended, her Majesty took me by the hand, and went down through the Park of Stirling, and came up through the town, ever reasoning with me upon their purposes. And albeit she took hardly with them at first, she began to alter her mind, thinking it fit that my Lord of Bedford should intercede for her Rebels, they to be banished out of England and Scotland during her pleasure, so to be by time reconciled to them, according to their future deportments; and for her part, she purposed to proceed with

such a gracious government, as should win the victory over herself, and all her competitors and enemies in time coming; which she could have done as well as any Prince in Europe.

"But alas! she had bad company about her. For the Earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he shot at, as soon as he understood of her wise and merciful disposition and deliberations, he took occasion to bring in the Earl of Morton and his associates, thereby to make them his friends, and by them to fortify his faction. For apparently he had already in his head, the resolution of performing the foul murder of the king, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the Queen. Both which he brought to pass, to his own utter wreck and confusion, and thereby great trouble and mischief upon the country. And was also, at last, the Queen's wreck, and the hindrance of all our hopes, in the hasty obtaining all her desires concerning the Crown of England.

"When all the rest of the Ambassadors were come, they repined to see the Englishmen more friendly and familiarly used than themselves, (for, as I have said, it was a perverse time) for then we had more to do with England than France; and the French Earl, who was sent, was no courtier, but a simple man; and Monsieur Morat, the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador, being afar off, came after the baptism. During their abode in Stirling,

there was daily banqueting, dancing, and triumph; and at the principal banquet, there fell out a great grudge amongst the Englishmen. The cause was as follows.

"A Frenchman, called Bastion, devised a number of men, formed like satyrs, with long tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the Great Hall upon a machine, or engine, marching as appeared alone, with musicians, clothed like maidens, playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the satyrs were not content only to make way, or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands, in such sort, as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them; weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand. For Mr. Hatton, Mr. Lequish, and the most part of the gentlemen, desired to sup before the Queen and great banquet, that they might see the better the order and ceremony of the triumph. But so soon as they perceived the satyrs wagging their tails, they all sat down upon the bare floor, behind the back of the table, that they might not see themselves derided, as they thought.

"Mr. Hatton then said to me, if it were not in the Queen's presence, he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave Bastian, who, he

alledged had done it out of despite, that the Queen made more of them than the Frenchmen.

"I excused the matter the best I could; but the noise was so great behind the Queen's back, where her Majesty and my Lord of Bedford did sit, that they heard, and turned about their faces to enquire what the matter meant. I informed them that it was occasioned by the satyrs, so that the Queen, and my Lord of Bedford, had enough to do to get them appeased. It fell out unhappily at such a time, and the English gentlemen committed a great oversight to notice it, as done against them. But my Lord of Bedford was discreet, and interpreted all things to the best.

"My Lord of Bedford was rewarded with a rich chain of diamonds, worth two thousand crowns; Mr. Cary with a chain of pearls, and a ring with a fair diamond; Mr. Hatton had a chain, with her Majesty's picture, and a ring; Mr. Lequish, and five others of quality, had each of them chains. I was commanded, with many others, to attend them to the road. They parted all very well content, and satisfied with the Queen's Majesty, but lamented that they perceived the King so slighted. My Lord of Bedford desired me to request her Majesty to entertain him as she had done at the beginning, for her own honour, and the advancement of her affairs; which I forgot not to do, on all occasions.

"After the Baptism, and parting of the Am-

bassadors, her Majesty, desirous to put good order upon the borders, sent the Earl of Bothwell before, who, in the pursuit of thieves, was hurt. Her Majesty passed afterwards to Judburge herself, where the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprized the slaughter of the Earl of Murray; but the Lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterprize. Her Majesty returned by the Merse, and desired to see Berwick afar off, where she was honoured with many shots of artillery; and Sir John Foster, Warder upon the English Border, came and conferred with her Majesty for keeping of good order. And the mean time, while he was speaking with her Majesty, on horseback, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs, to take the Queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her Majesty's thigh very ill. Incontinent, the Warder lighted off his horse, and sat down upon his knees, to crave her Majesty's pardon; for then all England did much reverence her. Her Majesty made him to rise, and said, she was not hurt; yet, it compelled her Majesty to tarry two days at the Castle of Hume, until she recovered again. The King followed her about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance; so, that finding himself so slighted, he went to Glasgow, where he fell sick; it being alledged, that he had got poison from some of his servants.

"In the mean time the Earl of Bothwell ruled

all that Court, having brought home the banished Lords, and packed up a quiet friendship with the Earl of Morton. After her Majesty's return to Edinburgh, she reconciled the Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Argyle, and others. From that her Majesty went to Stirling, to see the Prince, and returned again to Edinburgh, whither the King was afterwards brought, and lodged in the Kirkfield, as a place of good air, where he might best recover his health. But, many suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprize against *him*, few durst advertize him, because he told all again to some of his own servants, who were not all honest. Yet Lord Robert, Earl of Orkney, told him, that if he retired not hastily out of that place, it would cost him his life; which he told again to the Queen, and my Lord Robert denied that ever he spoke it; this advertisement moved the Earl of Bothwell to haste forward his enterprize. He had before laid a train of gunpowder under the house where the King did lodge, and in the night, did blow up the said house with the powder; but it was spoken, that the King was taken forth, and brought down to a stable, where a napkin was stopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated.

"Every one suspected the Earl of Bothwell, and those who durst speak freely to others said plainly that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a number of Lords of his dependants to be an assize, which cleansed and acquitted him; some

for fear, some for favour, and the greatest part in expectation of advantage. This way essoilzied, he remained the greatest favourite at Court.

"My Lord of Murray was retired from the Court several days before. Her Majesty kept her chamber for a while. I came to the door the next morning after the murder; and the Earl Bothwell said her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, which occasioned him to come forth.—He said, 'The strangest accident had fallen out which ever was heard of; for thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's house, and himself was found dead, lying a little distance from the house, under a tree.' He desired me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt, nor mark, on all his body. But when I went up to see him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham, but I could not get a sight of him.

"The bruit began to rise that the Queen would marry the Earl of Bothwell; who had six months before married the Earl of Huntly's sister, and that for this design he was resolved to part with his own lady. Whereat every good subject, who loved the Queen's honour, and the Prince's safety, had sore hearts: thinking thereby her Majesty would be dishonoured, and the Prince in danger to be cut off, by him who had slain his father; but few, or none, durst speak in the contrary. Yet my Lord Herries, a worthy nobleman, came to

Edinburgh well accompanied, and told her Majesty what reports were going through the country; of the Earl of Bothwell's murdering the King, and now that she was to marry him. Requesting her Majesty most humbly on his knees to remember her honour and dignity, and the safety of the Prince, which would be in danger if she married the said Earl; with many other great persuasions, to shew the utter wreck and inconvenience which would be thereby occasioned.

"Her Majesty appeared to wonder how these reports could go abroad, seeing (she said) there was no such thing in her mind. He begged her Majesty's pardon, and prayed her to take his honest meaning in good part. And immediately took his farewell, fearing the Earl of Bothwell should get notice thereof. He had fifty horse with him at the time, and caused each of them to buy a new spear at Edinburgh, and so armed rode home," &c. &c.

This account will conclude with the strict and equitable moral which is conveyed in the fate of the Earl of Bothwell; a man of the most brutal and ferocious disposition, and capable of performing every enormity, as the foregoing fully proves.

Death of the Earl of Bothwell.

"Now the Laird of Grange's two ships being in readiness, he made sail towards Orkney; and no man was so frank to accompany him as the Laird of Tullibardine and Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. But the Earl was fled from Orkney to Shetland; whither also they followed him, and came in sight of Bothwell's ship; which moved the Laird Grange to cause the skipper to hoist up all the sails, which they were loath to do, because they knew the shallow water thereabout. But Grange, fearing to miss him, compelled the mariners. So that, for too great haste, the ship wherein Grange was did break upon a bed of sand, without loss of a man. But Bothwell had leisure in the mean time to save himself in a little boat, leaving his ship behind him, which Grange took, with divers of the Earl's friends and servants. Himself fled to Denmark, where he was taken, and kept in strait prison, wherein he became mad, and died miserably. And his own servants were the first who gave information of the manner of the murder of the late unfortunate Prince, the Earl of Darnley."

The following letter was addressed to King James the Sixth of Scotland, by this most true and faithful friend, servant and councellor, Sir James Melvin. It is written in a style and in language very different to that made use of in general to Kings. For though the communications which his duty compelled him to make are conveyed in terms of the profoundest deference and personal respect—yet, in the warm sincerity of his feelings, he cannot refrain from severe reprehension, and pointing out, with emphatic force, whatever measures appeared to him contrary to the welfare and honour of his country and his Prince; with a freedom of speech, and genuine affectionate care and friendship, that is scarcely to be paralleled. And from the strict morality of the principles inculcated, the excellent advice contained in it, and the extensive knowledge of the subject treated on, which the author possessed, together with his long experience of Courts and Kings, renders this letter a very valuable acquisition in this collection of scarce and curious extracts; and an admirable lesson to all ranks of society, though written for a Prince.

(This letter was written immediately after the

King's return from Denmark, and his marriage with the Princess of that kingdom.)

"SIR,

"Your Majesty's happy return (from Denmark) hath greatly rejoiced your whole subjects. The expectations they had of you, ever since your birth, hath been great, both far and near. Your public promise to take upon you a more kingly care, since your home coming, through greater experience, hath augmented a good hope of a gracious government. Your religion, pure and clean, your zeal and godliness to justice, your chaste and sincere life, your promptitude to suppress rebellions when they arise, ravisheth the hearts of most part of your subjects to love you, and to esteem you the best king which hath been these many years in this realm. And yet they all marvel, with stupified minds, to see your affairs so unluckily handled; complaining that your country was never in greater disorder. The Kirk never worse contented, (their dissatisfaction influencing the whole kingdom); your house, so evil at a point; the nobility so divided; the Barons were never in greater poverty; the Commons never more oppressed; never more taxation raised, mostly applyed to the utility of private persons; never more Parliaments holden; never more laws broken; your proclamations and missives no ways obeyed. Never was murder

and bloodshed more encreased, than since your home coming and public promise of better government.

"Therefore, Sir, as in a perilous storm upon the sea, or to quench sudden kindled fire on the land, every man's help is requisite and acceptable; so I hope your Majesty's clemency will consider, and your prudence will take in good part, this my dutiful declaration and admonition, the boldlier enterprized under the warrant of your favourable alliance, following your commandment, before your Majesty's going to Denmark, that my brother and I should set down the causes of the evil and disorders, that yet are in the kingdom, and the meetest remedies for reforming and amending the same.

"There be three chief causes of all these evils and disasters:

"The first is—concerning God's service.

"The second is—concerning your own estate, and the provision of your house.

"The third—concerning the right policy and management of the country.

"As concerning the service of God, neglected by our sins, and carelessness in setting forth his glory, it should be redressed and amended by humble repentance, and amendment of life, and good example; which first in your own person, upon whose carriage every man's eye is fixed, as the head, to rule the rest of the members with

religion, justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude.

"Chiefly by religion and justice have all commonwealths been ruled; so that such countries as wanted the knowledge of the true religion, seeing the great works that God brought to pass by his own peculiar people, observing his religion they invented religions. Thus thinking to imitate the Jews, they fell into idolatry and superstition; yet they straitly observed their said invented religions, and caused to punish with death such as despised or spoke against the same. Far more should your Majesty be careful to advance the true religion, and to see the same reverenced and observed. And, for that effect, should devout and discreet Ministers be chosen, whose Christian lives may preach as well as their doctrine; and such ought to be provided with sufficient local stipend, neither too much to entice them to avarice, nor too little to make them indigent, and to give them ground in their preachings to cry of poverty; in such sort as they may have no occasion yearly to leave their flocks, to come and make suit for their livings, with great pain and expence, as they do presently.

"Divers are the causes of the disorders in your Court, and out offices, and servants: for they are not chosen for their qualities, but at the instance of this or that friend, or courtier: then the number of all sorts of servants are not limited, by

placing about your Majesty so many as are needful, but an extraordinary number; whereas two in every office are enough. And then your prudence will be best known, when you shall be seen to make good elections of fit persons for every occupation. For the Prince is ever esteemed to be like unto those sort of servants he likes best to be about him. Much consists in this, to have in Court discreet, modest courtiers; such as are not covetous, nor unmeasurably ambitious. Nothing wins more the hearts of the people to the Prince: for as long as they see about him such persons, they are out of fear of being unmeasurably burdened. When they see men who are not greedy, not prodigal spenders of their Prince's estate, nor their own, not stirrers up of the Prince to take men's lives for their lands; they are in hope that every man may live upon his own, and the Prince also upon his proper patrimony. Therefore should the officers of the Exchequer be true and honest men. And the Prince should be frequently present himself, and hear his own compts; for few dare controul or find fault with the wrong compts of his officers, or great courtiers; which I have ofttimes found fault with, when upon the Exchequer, though afterwards to my great prejudice.

"The causes why the patrimony of the Crown is so diminished, is because your Majesty's predecessors disposed much to the church for devotion; and to the noblemen and barons for good

service. And when Princes were careless to prevent rebellions, occasioned by their mis-government, they were compelled to buy the assistance of some, by disposition of lands, to help to suppress their unnatural subjects. Which inconvenience their careful and prudent government might have prevented and eschewed.

"Your Majesty also, out of your noble and princely disposition, disposed liberally unto divers greedy and importunate persons, during your minority, divers lands and rents, which would have stood in great stead to the entertainment of your house. And you heaped gift upon gift to a sort of greedy cravens, and that by persuasion of such as had your ear, and not to those who deserved best at your hands. Now the officers of the Chequer being well chosen, as said is, the rent-masters and their officers, who are accountable, must be responsible men; neither too mean, nor too great men, or courtiers, but such as dare be controuled, and whom people will not fear to offend. All vacant benefices and casualties should be retained in your own hands, till you see what you can spare.

"Then the best part of your property lies in the Highlands; where neither God nor the King is served or obeyed. Your rents may be redoubled if the Highlands and the Islands are reduced, as was done by your grandfather, King James the Fifth. For the kings of Scotland

were never rich since they left the Highlands and the Isles to dwell in the Lowlands: for, since that, their rents have been diminished, and their superfluous expences encreased, at the unruly example of other neighbour nations.

"Then your Majesty's parks should be put to profit and replenished; which will be found a necessary help to the keeping of your house.—The rest of your store grounds, lying in the far south parts, are in such hands as it is not fit to meddle with them yet; but some yearly wedders will be easily granted by them, who possess presently the said store grounds.

"Also the forbidden goods, that go yearly out of Scotland, if they were stayed and taken according to act of Parliament, would be very profitable.

"The best means to bring these good purposes to pass, is a princely, prudent, and gracious government; which is easily brought to pass, when the Prince corrects himself before he corrects his subjects; for they will soon be subdued to his will, when they see the same made subject unto reason: for being subject unto reason, the Prince hath conquered himself; the readiest means to conquer the hearts of his subjects. Their hearts being conquered, the country is easily conquered: the country being conquered, the Prince may plant and establish good order there at his pleasure

"Theopompus being demanded, 'What way

a King might best rule his realm?' answered, 'In giving liberty to those who love to tell him the truth.'

"The Senate of Rome, writing unto Trajan, excuseth Princes to be negligent in many things, not so much for that they have not desire to foresee, as because few, or none, dare warn them of the truth; and says, moreover, that it belongs to good Princes, rather to have regard to the benefit of their country, than to the delights of their person; and rather to follow such exercises as will increase their reputation, than only to be taken up with their pastime; that they should be sparing in speeches, and prodigal in deeds.

"Plutarch saith to the same Trajan: If thy government answer not the expectation of thy people, thou must necessarily be subject to many dangers. He said further, that Princes should rule well, if they be thankful to the great God, and if they should be patient in changes of fortune, and diligent in execution, careful of their affairs in dangers, mild to their people, tractable to strangers, not covetous of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions or desires; for then the burden of their office will be easy upon them. As God is the ruler and spirit of the world, so ought Princes to rule, and be the spirit of their country. The heavens, the earth, the sea, and all the elements, obey God's ordinances, by the strength of his continual motion and providence: so should the

Prince, who is God's placeholder, by continual care, providence, and motion, cause every lieutenant, minister, magistrate, judge, officer, and sheriffs, to keep their due course in their vocations. For the which effect, it may please your Majesty to consider the nature and wrong kind of Scottish government, by a continual long corrupted custom.

"Scotland is indeed hereditary, and a monarchy; yet among all other monarchial kingdoms, it is oftenest out of tune, by the sloth and carelessness of Princes, the unruliness and sturdiness of the subjects, and the great number of the nobility; as also by reason of the great cumbersome clans, so ready to concur together, and to rebel, for the defence of any of their name, or to revenge the just execution of some of them, for murder, slaughter, theft, or such other crimes. For our King wanting hired soldiers, remaining in garrisons, as other monarchs have, may not on all occasions punish and redress such wrongs and disorders; except they have by wisdom and virtue conquered their own passions, opinions, and desires, and by the same means ravished the hearts of the most and best part of their subjects to assist them, with heart and hand, to suppress the rebels, and to punish the offenders. Such Kings again as endeavour to command absolutely, not caring for the hearts of their subjects; their proclamation may well be outwardly obeyed by

their bodies, but they will never help the Prince in time of need, save only to help to ruin him.—There is nothing more dangerous for a Scots King, that hath not the love of his subjects, then when a great number are convened together, for at such times they use to take sudden consultations, to put order to the Princes, and his familiar minions. Of these two sort of Kings, the first is more than a monarch; and the last, less than elective. Of the first, in Scotland, too few have reigned; and of the last, too many; which is the cause that the country is not conquered to the lawful kings. Which is also the cause that the corrupt customs and disorders have lasted so long, and are not to be remedied, untill it please God to send three such kings as I have named, of the best sort, granting them long life, each one to succeed after the other; I pray God that your Majesty be the first of the three. But it appears your Majesty is not well advised, while you are creating more noblemen, making them thereby the stronger, whereas divers other Princes endeavour to make them lower and fewer; by reason of the old emulation which hath lasted between the Kings of Scotland and their nobility; the Kings to command absolutely as sovereign monarchs; the nobles to withstand their absolute power, sometimes by secret and indirect means, and oft times by plain resistance and force.—Hence but few wise, virtuous, and potent kings,

or sovereign monarchs, who have obtained the mastery; whereas there have been many careless, slothful, and simple Princes, that have ruled by wicked councellors, and have commonly been brought to ignominious ends. The good and worthy Prince took upon him more or less absolute power and authority, as he found himself able by assistance, substance, or alliance, or as he found his nobility feeble, foolish, and divided.

"England believes itself to be in the better estate, by shedding the blood of their nobility and barons, and by making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way of taking the life of a nobleman or baron, breeds an hundred enemies, more or less, according to the greatness of the clan, or surname; of which some will lie at wait to be revenged, albeit long after, as they can find opportunity. For the nobility being so numerous, by long evil custom, they esteem themselves to be born councellors, and yet will not remain at Court, nor upon the councel, except it be at conventions, or for some particular profit. And if the Prince intend to rule without them, they use to make sudden enterprizes against him and his familiars, with the which tragedies the Chronicles are filled. Then after such a violent alteration, they find themselves odious to the Prince; so that they commonly seek to be the masters over him from that time forth; lest he should, when he sees a fit time, take his revenge for their contempt.

" It is not best then to debar your nobility from being upon your councel, but grant place to a number of the wisest of them; whereof they will soon be weary, and retire when their purses begin to grow empty. Thus they will want occasion to grudge or rebel.

" It is meet also to gain by good deeds part of the worthiest of your nobility; which may be a means to keep the rest from rebellion, when they see so many of their number daily about you, and in your favour.

" Princes are, by Homer, called pastors; by the Romans, fathers of the country. None can be answerable to such honourable names, without extreme diligence, and fatherly care, to see every officer about his duty, and strait account taken how they discharge the same, rewarding well-doers, and punishing offenders; reward and punishment being the pillars whereupon the commonwealth stands. Especially take care the first year of your marriage; for the reputation obtained the first year will last long afterwards, whether it be good or evil.

" Be earnest and liberal to get good intelligence, as well of your neighbours' estate as your own; of the grievances of your subjects, and their partialities and feuds; which will open your eyes to see sundry outrages in matters of state. Give familiar access to your nobility and barons when they come, chiefly to all such who are writ-

ten for to your conventions. Give open audience once every week at least, to rich and poor, receiving their supplications and complaints, with strict commandment to the Councel, and Masters of Requests, to give them answer with sudden dispatch.

" Cause to reform the superfluity of clothing and banqueting, as well by your example as your commandment.

" Now supposing your Majesty to be ripe fruit, and no more green, I hope your dear bought experience hath made you apt enough to receive all profitable impressions presented to your Majesty by your faithful proved servants, and not to commit so easily the weighty charges of your affairs to any one, or two, or three; seeing the same may have been clearly observed to tend highly to the prejudice of such who have been, through flattery or otherwise, induced to follow such courses. Such minions have been always observed to shoot at their own mark, not valuing the endangering of the estate of the Prince, so that they gain their own ends, by enriching themselves and their dependants.

" No man will think strange, that, during your younger years, you have been pressed and persuaded to lay the burden of your affairs off yourself upon others; who greedily courted that weighty charge, above their capacity, wanting care, knowledge, and ability, to bear it. But

now, every man will marvel if you should commit such a gross error in your perfect age; thinking that your pregnant ingeny, excellent memory, and hurtful experience, may compel you to exercise the office of a King in your own person. For whence have proceeded so many attempts, so many enterprizes, so many times, the taking of your Majesty's person, so many alterations and changes of court servants, counsellors, and laws: but by committing the charge and keeping of your sheep and subjects, to certain ambitious and ravenous wolves, who chose to bring into Court for their assistance such as they knew to be of their own qualities, that they might conquer together, first how to put out of your favour, and debar from your ear, all such honest true persons as would oppose their pernicious proceedings; that so your Majesty might neither see, nor understand, but by their eyes and ears. Your Majesty can well enough remember how oft, for my part, I have forewarned you of the storms which were to fall out, through the misbehaviour of such insolent, such inconstant, such scornful, and such partial persons, as have oftest possessed your ear, and carried the vogue at your Court. And what I thereby gained to myself, your Majesty knows. Yet, however disadvantageous to my own particular interest was that manner of procedure, I had this comfort, that your Majesty confessed that

I had shewn you the verity: But the sad confession was ay behind the time, with over late repentance.

"Here your Majesty may reproach me of inconstant councils, because one year after your return from Denmark, I told you, that your subjects were not satisfied of their expectations, nor of your public promises; praying your Majesty, yet to begin, and either to be at that pains, which is requisite to a right governing King, or else to submit the whole burden of your affairs, to such a number as I should name, only for one year. In doing of any of these two, I engaged that you would find your estate sufficiently settled at the year's end. Then it pleased your Majesty to demand of me, the manner that I would wish you to rule after? Whereunto I made answer, that it did not become me, or any in Scotland, to shew you the duty of a king, which you could declare better than any of your Council; seeing you could exercise the said office as well as any King in Europe, if you were pleased, only for one year, to take the pains to do it yourself. In so doing, I supposed, that before the end of it, there should ensue such profitable effects, as you should find the Government pleasant, and no more painful; by which means your Majesty should eschew the reproach of the French poet, in one of his sayings—

Je hay, dit il, entre les homes ceux
Qui sont esprits d'un vouloir pansheaux,
Et touriours; semblet son fy, fye,
Practiquer l'art de la Philosophie.

In Italian.

Chi non fa quel che deue, quel haspetta non receue.

Spanish.

Si fueras regido par razon amuchas regiras.

"In four things a Prince soonest wrecks himself: to be careless and slothful in his affairs; to forsake the Council of his true servants; to give ear to unthankful flatterers; and to spend above his merits.

"To return again to the purpose, it pleased your Majesty to require for the second part, what might best settle your Estate within the year? I said, to devolve the management, for a year, upon such as I should name, joined to the best inclined of your own council. To that your Majesty once agreed; but when I came more to particulars, your Majesty judged it not your interest, as having been otherwise advised. Then I requested your Majesty to exercise the office yourself.

"Yet, not long after, your Majesty submitted yourself wholly and entirely to eight persons, called Octavians; and told me, that you had followed my opinion therein, and had submitted *sim-*

pliciter, for your time to those eight persons. I replied, that I spoke but for one year; and that I would have named some of the said number, but not all. They were wise men, learned, and politic; but the unmeeter, that they were chosers of themselves. Yet, they began to do better than any had done before them; but they continued not, but divided among themselves, after they had divided the offices of the Crown, to every man, one. Whereas, at the first, they had given forth, that they should plant mean responsible men in the said offices, and they all too but Comptrollers of the said officers. So that many began to grudge against them, seeing them in a sudden, become rich. And perceiving their great backs, the whole subjects, and his Majesty's own domestics to follow and depend upon them, and his Majesty to pass through the streets, with three or four, as forsaken; because none hoped any more for reward at his hands, but so much as might be had for serving and depending upon the said eight Lords.

"They became also hated and envied, partly for the causes specified; as also there was great ground of jealousy, that they were intending the establishment of Popery. So that there was a rebellion raised in Edinburgh against them, in his Majesty's presence; upon which, they fled out of the town, and since durst never take upon them the whole government, but were content to be

joined with a number of noblemen, and others of the Council, to the number of twenty-four. But the greatest part of the noblemen did not attend, but came when they were written for, to the Conventions, as formerly they used. So all this new device, turned to the old *sieut antea.*"

The Preservation of King James the First, from a Conspiracy, formed against him by the Earl of Bothwell and other discontented and restless Chiefs; proving the contentions and dangerous state the kingdom of Scotland was continually in, whilst a separate kingdom. *Melvin.*

"About this time there did arise great strife and disorders in the country, between the Earls of Huntly and Murray; between the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland; between the Lords Hamilton and Angus. For divers of them made suits, and obtained commissions, with ample priviledge over other lands, as well as over their own, which engendered many discords; whereof I advertized his Majesty, that order might be taken therewith.

"Whereupon, the Council being convened, they ordered letters to be directed, in his Majesty's

name, charging them all to desist from hostilities, and to appear before the Privy Council at prefixed days. First, the Earls of Murray and Huntly compeared, there being a gentleman, of the name of Gordon, killed with a shot, out of the house of Tarnua, by the Earl of Murray. Both the parties being come strong to court, were commanded to keep their lodgings, for preventing trouble before their compearing. When his Majesty was advised by the Chancellor what to do, in reference to the matter, then his Majesty proposed the same to the Council; to wit, three points; either present agreement to be made, or warding both the Earls, or caution to be taken of both; then to send home the one, and hold the other still at Court for a while. His Majesty following forth this proposition, declared first, that the parties could not be agreed, because of the hot blood of the Laird of Cluny, Gordon's brother, lately slain. Concerning warding, he alledged, that the castle of Edinburgh had enough of prisoners already; that the Abbey was not a fit prison for a nobleman; so that it would be fittest to take caution of them both, and to hold them sundry; to send home the one, and retain the other at Court for a season.

"The Chancellor was of that opinion, and sundry others, who used to depend on such who had the chief handling. Then his Majesty commanded me to tell my opinion; which was different from this. I advised present agreement;

supposing that the Earl of Huntly, for his Majesty's pleasure, and in obedience to his command, would not refuse to compound the matter, by a present uptaking, seeing he was come so great a journey, with his lady and whole household, to remain in Edinburgh all the winter. At this the Chancellor took me up tauntingly, saying, that the Earl of Huntly would tarry at Court all that day, till to-morrow, and would part no sooner; for he had promised to the said Earl, that advantage over his enemy. Albeit, I knew the Earl's intention was, to tarry all winter at Court. The Justice Clerk was of my judgment; but said, that it appeared his Majesty, with the Chancellor, had already concluded to send Huntly home, and keep the other at Court.

"So soon as Huntly, when home, wanting his competitor, he triumphed, and took sundry advantages upon the Earl of Murray's land, giving the Earl just occasion of complaint. And getting no redress, he retired himself from the Court, and became so malcontent, that he took plain part with the Earl of Bothwell, who was still upon his enterprizes.

"The Earl of Huntly being advertized that his adversary was an outlaw, with the Earl of Bothwell, he returned again to Court, to get some advantage over him. But in the mean time, the Earl of Ochiltree endeavoured to agree them by consent of his Majesty. He drew the Earl of

Murray to Donnibrisle, to be near hand, that conditions and articles might be added, and pared at the pleasure of their friends. The Earl of Huntly being also made privy to his coming to Donnibrisle, obtained incontinently a commission (appearing therein to do his Majesty acceptable service) to pursue by fire and sword, the Earl of Bothwell and all his partakers. Little knew his Majesty, that under this general order, he was minded to assail the Earl of Murray at his own house, and kill him, as he did, to the regret of many. But the Earl of Ochiltree took such a despite, that his friend was so slain, under communing, as he alledged, that he took plain part with the Earl of Bothwell, and so did divers others, in revenge of his quarrel; encouraging the said Earl to assail his Majesty within his Palace of Falkland, having divers in Court familiar enough with his Majesty, upon the said Conspiracy with him, whose council his Majesty followed most. So that they drew him into a net, to abide at Falkland, notwithstanding the many sure advertisements that had been made unto him. Such hath been his Majesty's hard fortune in many straits.

"The few number who were faithful to, and careful of his Majesty, council him, after the first advertizement, to pass to Coupar, and convene with all possible dispatch and diligence, the Barons of Fife for his defence. But such as sought his wreck, persuaded him to tarry and delay, al-

ledging, that they had sure advertizement, that the Earl of Lothian would not come out of Lothian till such a day; would have been two days longer, and behind the day which he kept; for he came to Falkland two days sooner. This advice was given, that his Majesty might be surprized, before he could either enter the Tower of Falkland, or be provided with any forces to defend him. And because they knew my brother and me to be careful for him, they advised his Majesty to send us home to our houses, that same night that we understood the Earl of Bothwell would be there, and had so told his Majesty. But he believed his abusers better. We gave his Majesty council to ride quietly to Bambrich, and there he might, when he pleased, take a boat and go over to Angus, where he would have leisure to convene the towns of Perth and Dundee, and the country thereabouts. But this advice was also overthrown by those who were upon the contrary part.

"Thus we, being commanded by his Majesty to ride home, and to warn the country, in case he were besieged within the Tower; we obeyed. My brother that same night, by the way, was advertized by one of the Earl of Bothwell's company, that he was already in Fife, and would be in Falkland against supper-time. Upon which advertizement, he sent his gentleman, called Robert Auchinleck, to acquaint his Majesty therewith,

and to request to enter within the Tower in due time. When the said Robert declared the matter unto his Majesty, they all laughed him to scorn, calling him fool. The said Robert returning malcontent, to be so scorned and mocked, met the Earl of Bothwell and his company, upon the Heights of the Lomonds, when it was already dark night; and turning incontinently, as if he had been one of the company, proceeded with them; but used great diligence to be first at his Majesty. Entering within the Palace of Falkland, he closed the gates himself, and cried continually to cause his Majesty to enter the Tower; who, at length believed him, and mocked him no more.

"The Earl of Bothwell, on his coming, had Petards to break up gates and doors. It was not without ground alledged, that some of those who shot out of the Tower, for his Majesty's defence, charged their culverins with paper. But some of his Majesty's household shot out bullets, which gave the Earl and his company a great scar; as also the King's being in the Tower before he was surprized; and supposing that the country would gather together, the said Earl and his company etired and fled; none pursuing them, whereas a few might easily have overtaken and overthrown them. That same night I lay in my boots, upon my bed, expecting word from Falkland, where

there was one left, to be ready for that effect. At whose backcoming, I, with other friends and neighbours, did ride to convene the country about Coupar for his relief, and to have rescued his Majesty.

"But his Majesty immediately sent me advertizement, that the Earl was fled. Yet he desired me to bring these forward, whom he knew I would convene for his relief; as they did, to the number of three thousand, that afternoon. Thus God miraculously delivered his Majesty at this time, as he had done divers times before.

History furnishes a better opportunity than any other possible means can do, to present to our contemplation, the instability of all human prosperity. As in the accounts of the different persons therein commemorated, you have before you, both the beginning and the end of their lives, and the subsequent effect of all their power, their riches, their grandeur, and their conduct on themselves and others. The moral of which, cannot fail to make a deep impression on the mind of sensibility and reflection. Amongst these instances, few are more remarkable, than the fate which has usually

attended the unworthy favourites of a Prince; in the course of this work, several examples will be found, but none where the punishment of a bad man was more deservingly inflicted, than in the following extract.

Particulars of the Death of Monsieur Oliver, the Great Favourite of Lewis the Eleventh of France.
A. D. 1482. *P. de Commines.*

"Before the Coronation of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and the nobility of the kingdom, (who had so often been injured and affronted in the late King's reign, by Oliver le Dain, his Barber; one Daniel, a Fleming, Monsieur Oliver's servant, and one Monsieur John Doyace, who had managed the affairs of the whole kingdom during part of the reign of Lewis) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them, for several murders, rapines, and other enormous offences, which they had formerly committed; though some of them were by the express command of the King. These informations being brought before the Court of Parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their Process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemned to death. And the year following (which

was 1484) Monsieur Oliver, and his servant Daniel, were executed at Paris; and M. Doyace had his ears cut off, and his tongue bored through.

"One of the crimes committed by Monsieur Oliver, and his servant Daniel, and for which they were executed, was this. A certain gentleman was committed to prison, by order of Lewis, and having a very young and beautiful lady for his wife, Monsieur Oliver falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her husband, by his intercession with the king, provided she would consent to prostitute herself to his loose desires. Accordingly she did; but instead of performing his promise, the very next day he ordered his servant Daniel, to put him in a sack, and throw him into the Seine, where he was drowned.

"This Oliver was, by birth, a Fleming, and had been Barber to King Lewis, but of greater power and authority with the King, than any nobleman in France. This power and influence which he had gained over the King, was gained by vile and slavish offices about his Royal Person, too low and contemptible to mention here. The base and loathsome offices which he performed, were not by any means out of respect or affection to the king, but through avarice, and an ambition to maintain his power and credit at Court; which ended immediately upon the death of his master, as you have already heard, notwithstanding the

strict charge the King gave to his son, upon his death bed, to continue his favour to Monsieur Oliver, and not to suffer what he had generously given him, to be taken from him; since, by his service, his life had been long preserved.

"But, notwithstanding, Princes in their lifetime, support and countenance such base and scandalous ministers, and how ready soever such may be to execute their masters unlawful and arbitrary commands; yet, at last they find that credit at Court is no inheritance, and that God, who leaves no villanies unpunished, finds a time to reward them, according to their deserts. Besides, immediately after the death of Lewis, a strict enquiry was made, into all the exorbitant and superstitious grants that were made by him in his life time; all which were resumed, and whatever lands had been alienated from the Crown, were united to it again."

CEREMONIES.

An account of the Interring the Body of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, by her Son, James the First.

" The fourteenth of August Sir William Detrick, Garter Principal King at Arms, was sent to Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, with a rich pall of velvet, embroidered with the arms of the mighty Princess Mary, Queen of Scotland, having letters directed to the Reverend the Lord Bishop of Peterborough in that behalf: which pall of velvet, so embroidered, was by him solemnly carried, and laid upon and over the corpse of the said late Queen, assisted by many knights and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine service. And then the said Bishop preached a sermon in that behalf in the morning, and made a great feast at dinner, and the Dean of the same preached in the afternoon. The said mighty and most noble Princess Mary, Queen of Scotland, was thus royally and sumptuously interred by the said Garter King at Arms, in August, 1587.

From Lindsay's History of Scotland.

Ceremony of the Grand Christening of the Son of King James the First. From the same author, Lindsay.

" The Right Honourable Roger, Earl of Rutland, appointed by the King's Majesty to be Ambassador to his loving brother Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, as well to solemnize in his behalf the christening of the King's son, as also to present his Highness with the most noble order of the Garter, took his leave of the Court at Greenwich, on Sunday the 26th day of June, 1603;— and on Monday embarked himself at Gravesend, in his Majesty's ship called the Golden Lion; being worthily accompanied, with nine knights, twenty esquires, his friends and allies, besides about one hundred gentlemen and yeomen, his servants and followers.

" On Tuesday his Lordship sailed; on Wednesday, at night, we lost sight of land; and the wind and weather being favourable, on Tuesday se'ennight following we arrived, and safely anchored within the sound of Denmark. Upon Thursday his Lordship landed at Elsinore, and was visited and saluted from the King. On Friday he rested himself, and on Saturday took journey to Copenhagen, where the King then was, with

seven score waggons prepared for his transportation: his Majesty having also sent two very fine coaches, and some gentlemen, his servants, to attend him on the way.

"His Lordship was met by Ramelions, and some other of the King's councel, who, by an oration made in Latin, saluted his Lordship with the most kindly welcome, signifying that it was the King's pleasure that himself, and all his train, should be free of all charge during their abode in his country: and to that end had so ordained, that in all the towns and villages where we passed, wine and beer, and all other victuals, were plentifully and freely offered unto all men.

"This oration was answered by Mr. Nantoun, a learned gentleman, that attended my Lord Rutland for that purpose. That evening we came to Copenhagen; the Ambassador and his brethren were lodged in the Court, and the knights and gentlemen in the town. That night the Earl was visited by some of the King's counsel, who came to him in his lodging, and some compliments passed betwixt the King and the Ambassador, by messages only.

"Sunday, in the morning, being the tenth of July, his Lordship was appointed to have audience of the King, and therefore, about the hour of nine, his Lordship set forth of his lodging, with all his attendants, in very good order, and richly be-

seen. His gentlemen of the better sort had a livery of scarlet, and with five or six silver laces about; and the meaner sort, as many guards of white sattin. The King's Majesty stood in an half pace, in a great chamber at the side of a square table, placed under a cloth of estate of crimson velvet. He was appareled in black, for he then mourned for his brother who died in Russia.

"At my Lord's approach he uncovered his head, and descending the half pace, embraced my Lord with great kindness; than began my Lord's orator, Mr. Nantoun, his oration in Latin, which he performed with great eloquence, and in handling the parts of the oration; he first presented the King of Britain's letters of credence, and deputation for the baptizing of the child, and then the commission for the order of the Garter. All which the King of Denmark received and read, and by some few instructions given by his Majesty to Ramellions, he answered the oration pointedly, with great learning and readiness, he being, as was said, the King's counsellor. After the which the King discoursed awhile in the Italian tongue with the Ambassador, taking knowledge of the knights and gentlemen, who kissed his Highness's hand, and also proceeded to the church to the christening of the young Prince, in manner following.

"The streets of Copenhagen, through which his Royal Highness should pass, were set with certain ensigns and burghers, both of shot and pick. The King's trumpeters rode foremost sounding; then followed the kettle-drums, then the King's household servants on foot, after whom followed fifty gentlemen, all mounted on great horses, appareled in black, who mourned as the King did. Then came the Lord Ambassador's attendants, followers, and servants, accompanied with divers Danes on foot: the Bishop of Bream, with the three deputies of Saxon Brunswick and Brandenburge, accompanied each other. The King, the Lord Ambassador, and Duke Ulrick, the King's brother, rode all three together; the Queen mother followed, invested in white sattin above, in a chariot of crimson velvet, embroidered and richly gilt, bearing the young Prince in her arms. The chariot was drawn by six milk white horses, sumptuously harnessed and plumed, and a guard of Switzers, suited in red and yellow silk, bearing light torches thereabouts.

"After followed a spare chariot of purple, richly embroidered, and after it divers coaches of the Queen's women, appareled in white, like unto nuns.

"Then, with great triumph, and rejoicings of the people, who were there in great numbers, they entered our Lady Church of that town, where the

baptizing was to be performed. The chancel was hung with crimson velvet, and sattin figured, and round about beautified with the most fair ladies, in great abundance, all rich in jewels, and head attires in pearls, closs dressed, but their garments were black and plain; and truly, in my judgement, both for habit and behaviour, they seemed to be the most modest women in the world.

"In the chancel were erected two trevises, the one for the Queen mother and the Prince, the other for the King and the Ambassador. After divers anthems and hymns sung, and consorted with eloquent music in great variety, a Bishop, assisted with a Deacon, in rich vestments, standing before the altar, began to read certain prayers, both in Latin and the Danish tongues: which performed, the Bishop came to the front, and the Queen mother, being led by the Ambassador and the Duke Ulrick, brought the child in her arms to the same, and there she delivered the child, to be held by the Lord Ambassador, whilst she herself sliped back the head attire for the baptism; which the Bishop, after certain prayers, performed, by putting water on the infant's head, with the sign of the cross, saying, '*Neume de Barne,*' which was, Christian, done by the Lord Ambassador, and other deputies, at the request of the King his father.

"All which accomplished, the Queen, with the

Prince, retired into her trevis. The Bishop began a sermon in Latin upon the Gospel for that day; which ended, the trumpets sounded, and they royally retired as they came."

(A continuation of the account, in the additional attentions paid to the English Ambassador by the King of Denmark, curious and interesting, as the manners and customs of former times must be, comparing and contrasting with the present;—though a far greater analogy exist between them, when accurately examined, than is at first sight, or superficial reading, imagined.)

From the same Author—Lindsay.

"The next day the King made a solemn feast to the Ambassador, and the other deputies, placing the King of England's Ambassador, at the table end, on the right hand of the Queen mother; himself sat on the right side of the table end, and his Queen on the left. The Duke Ulrick, his brother, the Bishop of Bream, and other estates, were placed according to their degrees, and so were the English knights and gentlemen, as many

as the boards might contain. To be brief; it were superfluous to tell you of all the superfluities that were used. It would make a man sick to hear of their drinking healths; use hath brought it into fashion, and fashion hath made it a habit, which it ill beseems our nation to imitate.

"Monday being the eleventh day of July, the Lord Ambassador was entertained with the sight of the King's stable of horse; and with the arsenal or store-house of the King's munition; which truly, when it shall be performed, will be one of the most excellent provisions in Christendom.—There was but one side of it built, the other lay in the foundation. The fabrication is of three lofts, the nethermost is artillery upon carriage, so neat, and clean kept, that the brass is as bright as gold, and the iron as black as jet. The bullets are built in piles, according to their bore; and all provisions so ready and so necessary, as it were not expressed in words, what it is in form. So is the middle store-house of armour, pikes, shots, ensigns, drums, and all martial instruments; also the uppermost loft, with powder, cordage, and all other necessaries, plentifully supplyed and properly stored.

"The next day was spent in seeing the King of Denmark's ships and other compliments.

"On Wednesday, my Lord Ambassador, and his attendants, kissed the Queen's hand and the

young Prince's; then took their leave, and returned from Copenhagen to Elsinore, and by the way the King and Ambassador hunted.

"On the fourteenth, the King received the Order of the Garter, within the Castle of Elsinore, which service was performed by William Segar Norrey, King at Arms; unto whom the King gave a rich suit of apparel, and a rich chain of gold, with his madiagle hanging thereat. At the investing of the King, the Castle discharged fifty cannons, and the King of England's ships, lying before the Castle, reported as many. That afternoon, the King went aboard in the English ships, and had a banquet prepared for him upon the upper decks, which were hung with covering of cloth of tissue; every health reported six, eight, or ten shot, of great ordnance. So, that during the King's abode, the ship discharged an hundred and fifty shot.

The Castle of Elsinore is a quadrant, with one of the goodliest fortifications in that part of the world, both for strength, and most curious architecture, and was built by Frederic, the King's father. There are in the same many princely lodgings, and especially one great chamber; it is hanged with Irish tapestry of fresh coloured silk, without gold, wherein all the Danish Kings are expressed, in antique habits, according to their several times, with their arms and inscriptions,

containing all their conquests and victories; the roof is of inlet woods, and hung full of branches of brass, for lights.

"The next day the King hunted, and by the way shewed my Lord Ambassador certain water mills, (of his own device) for the forging, hammering, and boring of the ordnance, both great and small. In the which work, a dozen men, did with great ease, the offices of three or four score. The chase continued about three or four hours, the deer being brought within toils, were killed with musket shot, to the number of eight or nine score, the most part stags. After which, the King feasted my Lord Ambassador, in a lodge, very royally.

"After which, on the next morning, six or eight of the King's Council repaired unto my Lord Ambassadors lodging in the Castle, and there, in presence of his Lords and his attendants, made a solemn protestation of the King's high acceptation of those favours and honours, which his loving brother, the King of England, had done unto him; promising all princely requital of it, if it lay in his power, yielding always great thanks to the Ambassador, for his long and painful journey to do him honour. And therewith presented him with a fair chain, and a rich jewel, set with diamonds, and his picture also hanging thereat. Also sixteen other chains were given to the Knights, and some of the gentlemen, my Lord's

followers, and about ten of the mediagles of gold unto others.

"The presents which the King of England sent to the King of Denmark were, a collar of the order, two very rich Georges, set with diamonds, and two Garters; and to the Queen mother rich caronets and other jewels, estimate worth three or four thousand pounds sterling.

"That day Ramellions invited both the King and Ambassador to dine with him, at his own house, near the Castle; and, in his dining chamber, had erected a cloth of estate, of crimson sattin figured, with two chairs and cushions of the same; and upon the cloth of estate were set the arms and stiles of both the Kings, which before was not used; because the King received the order in his chamber, and not in his chapel.

"The cheer was great, and my Lord Ambassador being weary with these bacanalian entertainments, took his leave of the King's grace, intending that night to lie on board, for the more speedy dispatch homeward. The King by no persuasion could alter his determination; and, therefore, after many embracements on either part, with kissing the King's hands, his Lordship departed, and was accompanied unto the shore by his Majesty, where the pinnace and the long boat lay ready to convey him on board.

"On Tuesday, the nineteenth of July, we set

sail for England; our ship, saluting the Castle, was resaluted by the same; and the King, standing upon a counterscarp that lay near the sea, gave fire unto a cannon with his own hand, for our last farewell. And truly I must say thus much of him, that, for his royal person and princely carriage, I hold him to be the goodliest King in Christendom.

"On Saturday, the thirtieth of July, after we had been thirteen days at sail, carried by contrary winds, we arrived at Scarborough road, in Yorkshire.

A particular detail of the very magnificent pageants made by the City of London, in honour of King James the First, and his Queen Anne of Denmark, as they passed through to Westminster.

"The day thereafter King James, Queen Anne his wife, and Henry Frederic, the Prince, passed triumphantly from the Tower of London, through the royal city and chamber of London, to Westminster. The companies of the city, marshalled according to their degrees, were placed; the first

beginning at the upper end of Mark Lane, and the last reaching to the Conduit in Fleet Street, or thereabouts, their seats being double railed; upon the upper part thereof, they leaned the streamers, ensigns, and banners, of each particular company, decently fixed; and directly against them, quite through the body of the city, so high as Temple-bar, a single rail, a far distance from the other, was likewise erected to put off the multitude

"The King, richly mounted on a white gennet, under a rich canopy, sustained by eight gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, for the Barons of the Cinque Ports, entered his royal city of London, and passed the same towards Westminster, through seven gates of pageants; of the which, the first was erected at the east end of Fenchurch Street, over the which gate was represented the true likeness of the notable houses, towers, and steeples, within the city of London. The second gate, a most sumptuous piece of workmanship, was loftily raised in Gracechurch Street, by the Italians.—The third gate, upon Cornhill, by the Exchange, representing the seventeen provinces of Belgia, or the Dutch nation, and by them raised, close by St. Mildred's Church. In the Poultry, a scaffold was erected, where, at the city's cost, to delight the Queen with her own country music, nine trumpets, and a kettle-drum, did actually sound the Danish march.

"The fourth gate where through his Grace passed, at charges of the citizens, was raised at West Cheap, at Super-lane end, adjoining to the east front of the great Cross; in the Cheap was erected a square low gallery, some four foot from the ground, set round about with pilley stairs, where stood the Aldermen, the Chamberlain, Town Clerk, and Counsell of the city, and Sir Henry Montaine, Recorder of the city, who made to the King a gratulatory oration as followeth—

" 'High Imperial Majesty,—It is not a year in days since, with acclamations of the people, citizens and noble, auspiciously here, at this Cross, was proclaimed your true accession to the crown. If then it was joyous, with hands and hearts lift up to Heaven, to cry King James—what is it now to see King James? Come, therefore, O worthiest of Kings, as a glorious bridegroom, through your royal chamber. But to come nearer—'*Adest quem, quærimus.*' Twenty and more are the Sovereigns we have served since our conquest—but conqueror of hearts, it is you, and your posterity, that we have vowed to live, and wish to serve, whilst London is a city. In pledge thereof, my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commons of the city, wishing a golden reign to you, presents your Grace with a little cup of gold.'

" At the end of the oration, three cups of gold were given (in the name of the Lord Mayor and

the haill body of the city) to his Grace, the young Prince, and the Queen. From thence his Majesty past to the little Conduit at St. Paul's gate, where was placed the fifth gate or pageant, arbour like, and so called the arbour of music.—From thence he passed through Paul's Church Yard, upon the lower battlements of which church an anthem was sung by the choristers of that church, to the music of loud instruments, which being finished, a little oration was delivered by one of Mr. Madcaster's scholars, at the door of the free school, founded by Doctor Collet, sometime Dean of St. Paul's.

"The sixth arch, or gate of triumph, was erected above the Conduit in Fleet Street, whereon the globe of the world was seen to move. At Temple-Bar, when his Grace was upon the point of giving a gracious princely farewell to the Lord Mayor and the city, a seventh gate, or arch, was erected, the fore front whereof was proportioned in every respect like a Temple, being dedicated to 'James.' Lastly, the city of Westminster, and Dutchy of Lancaster, at the Strand, had invented the invention of a rainbow, the sun, moon, and stars, advancing betwixt two pyramids, which piece of work was begun and ended in twelve days.

"Of all which pageants and devices, speeches and songs, declared in them, ye may read at large,

in a book entitled, "The magnificent entertainment given to King James upon the day of his triumphant passage from the Tower through his honourable city of London, the fifteenth day of March, 1608-4, by Thomas Decker."

An Account of the different Ancient Authors from whom the Extracts contained in this Work are selected—when they lived—and the nature of their writings.

Gildas Britannicus, an ancient writer of our English nation. He was born in the year 493, died 580.

Venerable Beda, a Saxon and a priest, wrote the Ecclesiastical History of the English nation, from the coming in of Julius Cæsar, to the year 733, about which time he died.

Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, wrote from the year 664 to the year 1066, and lived in the time of Henry the First, whose Secretary he had been.

William of Malmsbury, a Benedictine Monk, wrote a history of the English nation, from the first coming of the Saxons to his own time, dedicated to Robert, Duke of Gloucester, natural son of King Henry the First. He lived to the first year of Henry the Second.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictine Monk, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaphs, wrote a history of the Britains. He lived about the year 1150, in the reign of King Stephen.

(Sylvester) Gyraldus, born in Wales, and therefore called Cambrensis, after long travel abroad, was called home and made Secretary to King Henry the Second. He was the author of numerous elegant works, and lived about 1190.

Roger Hoveden, a Priest of Oxford, wrote the Annals of the Kings of England, &c. &c. He lived in the time of Richard the First, and died in the reign of King John.

Matthew Paris, a Benedictine Monk, of St. Albans, wrote a history, chiefly Ecclesiastical, brought down to the year 1259.

John Harding, a gentleman of good family in the North, was the author of numerous historical accounts of the Kings of England and Scotland; lived in the year 1448, in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine Monk, of St. Albans, wrote two Histories of England, continued from the earliest periods down to Henry the Sixth, to whom his works were dedicated.

Sir Thomas More, born in London, Lord Chancellor of England, besides many other learned works, wrote the life of King Richard the Third; and died for denying the King's supremacy, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, 1535.

Polidor Virgil, an Italian, but made here in England, Arch Deacon of Wells, amongst other his learned works, wrote the History of England, from its beginning to the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth, to whom he dedicated his work.

Edward Hall, a Lawyer, wrote a Chronicle, which he calls the Union of the Two Roses; containing from the beginning of Henry the Fourth, to the last of Henry the Eighth. He died in the year 1547.

John Leland, a Londoner, wrote a book of the Antiquities of Britain, and of famous men, &c. &c. He lived in the reign of Henry the Eighth, 1548.

Phillip de Commines, a Knight of Flanders, wrote the lives of Lewis and Charles the Eighth, Kings of France; wherein are many passages connected with the Kings of England, their contemporaries; and judged interesting for this work.

Raphael Hollingshed, a Minister, wrote a large Chronicle, from the Conquest to the year 1577; and was continued by others to the year 1586.

Richard Grafton, Citizen of London, wrote an account of historical events, from the beginning of the world to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time he lived.

William Cambden, King at Arms, wrote the Life of Queen Elizabeth, and a description of Britain, and lived in the time of King James the First.

John Speed, a Londoner, wrote the story of Britain, from the first beginning to the year 1605; being the second year of James the First.

William Habingdon, Esq. hath written the reign of King Edward the Fourth, in a very fine style.

John Stow, Citizen of London, wrote a Chronicle, from Brute to the end of Queen Elizabeth, &c. &c.

Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England.

Simon Dunelmensis, a Benedictine Monk, wrote a history of the English Nation, from the death of Vene-

rable Beda, to the year 1164, and lived in the time of Henry the Second.

William Caxton, an Englishman, wrote a Chronicle, also a description of Britain, the life of St. Edward, and the history of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1484.

Robert Fabian, a Sheriff of London, wrote a Concordance of Histories from Brute, the first King of Britain, to the last year of Henry the Second, and another from King Richard the First to Henry the Seventh, in whose time he lived.

Robert Lindsay, wrote a History of Scotland, from 1436 to 1563.

Sir James Melvin—from his Memoir, relative to the affairs of State of England and Scotland, under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James.

Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman historian.

Modern Historians in this Work.

Hume—An Extract from the reign of James the First.

Sir Robert Naunton's—Fragmenta Regalia.

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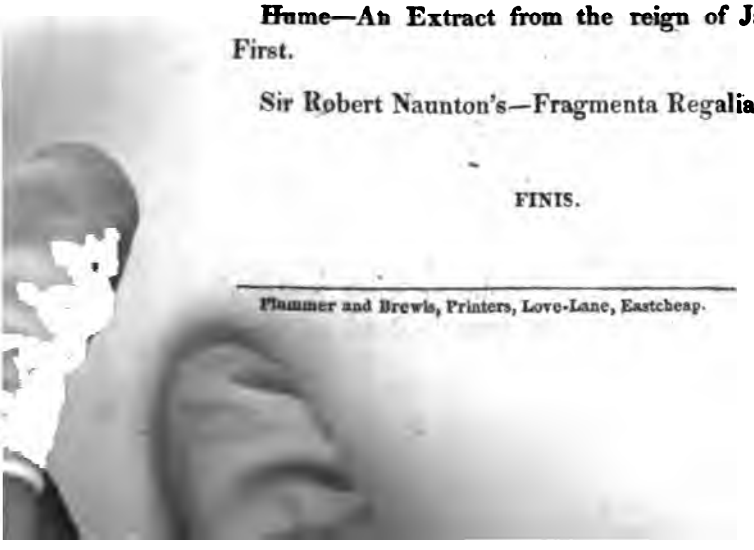

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